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ABSTRACT

Focusing on the challenge of expanding administrative opportunities for minorities, the 10 essays in this volume explore the problem of underrepresentation of minority administrators at community colleges and suggest strategies for improving diversity. The following articles are provided: (1) "Paradox and Promise: Leadership and the Neglected Minorities," by George B. Vaughan; (2) "From the Projects to the Presidency: An African American Odyssey," by Raymond C. Bowen; (3) "Increasing the Latino Leadership Pipeline: Institutional and Organizational Strategies," by Isaura Santiago Santiago; (4) "The Powers of the Presidency," by Rafael L. Cortada; (5) "The Community College Presidency: An Asian Pacific American Perspective," by M. Jack Fujimoto; (6) "Gateways to Success: Urban Community Colleges and Administrative Diversity," by Gilbert H. Muller; (7) "Affirmative Action as an Equal Opportunity Opportunity," by Donald G. Phelps and Lynn Sullivan Taber; (8) "Professional Development Resources for Minority Administrators," by David R. Pierce, James R. Mahoney, and Arnold M. Kee; (9) "The Unfinished Agenda," by Reginald Wilson; and (10) "Sources and Information: Expanding Opportunities for Minority Administrators," by Jonathan Holub and Elizabeth Foote. (BCY)

NEW DIRECTIONS FOR COMMUNITY COLLEGES

ED 397 884

Achieving Administrative Diversity

Raymond C. Bowen, Gilbert H. Muller

EDITORS

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NEW DIRECTIONS FOR COMMUNITY COLLEGES

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EDITORS' NOTES

Community colleges, which enroll a significant percentage of minority students nationally, are keenly aware of the need to develop strategies, policies, and programs that make their administrators as diverse and representative as their student populations. Indeed, the growing importance of community colleges for the educational and social future of the United States is tied intimately to their ability to make a strong and effective commitment to minority leadership.

The contributors to this volume take a challenging new look at the dynamics of minority leadership and administration. While acknowledging the problems involved in enhancing minority administration and dealing with the current state of the educational establishment, they offer numerous positive approaches to these problems. Mixing personal experience with objective observation and scholarship, and insights into the broader educational culture and polity with case studies and statistics, they examine what it means to be a person of color seeking a senior administrative position or a pathway to the college presidency. They explore the numerous challenges and prospects of finding and nurturing qualified minority educators who are interested in becoming community college executives. How do minority educators get into the administrative pipeline? How do they develop administrative skills? What resources are available to them? What specific as well as common challenges await African Americans, Hispanic Americans, Asian Americans, and minority women? These are some of the seminal questions that the contributors investigate.

By confronting the general wisdom that prospects for minority educators in community colleges are daunting if not bleak, the authors assembled in this collection move beyond entrenched and expedient generalities to provide readers with concrete perspectives and practical ways to attract, train, and interact with underrepresented ethnic minorities seeking administrative careers in community colleges. The aim of the volume is to address the core question posed almost a decade ago by Donald G. Phelps, a contributor to this volume, in which he suggests that if our faculties, administrators, and staffs remain virtually white Anglo while our student bodies continue to become more ethnically diverse, can we still claim that our institutions of higher education truly reflect the changes in society? Only by extending the horizons of leadership to match the striking diversity of their student populations can community colleges reflect the rapidly changing multicultural reality of democratic society in the United States as the nation moves toward the twenty-first century.

Significant leadership positions, even in an era of downsizing or "rightsizing," exist for minority candidates; however, gaining access to the culture of leadership is frequently a haphazard process. Institutions that capitalize on internal leadership development initiatives as well as external resources such as national leadership development programs can identify, nurture, and expand opportunities for minorities by providing them with the structure and confidence needed to enter the leadership pool. The playing field for leadership positions at community colleges rarely is level, and consequently it is especially important for institutions to offer leadership development workshops, networking opportunities, mentoring programs, and other initiatives designed to increase the leadership pool for underrepresented groups. Ultimately a strong commitment to the goals of affirmative action, as indicated by several writers in this volume, can enhance meaningful diversity by alerting and preparing candidates for senior administrative positions.

This volume, *Achieving Administrative Diversity*, offers a collection of chapters by individuals who are well known for their scholarship and their roles as community college leaders. In Chapter One, George B. Vaughan surveys the current community college presidential picture and offers suggestions for minority administrators aspiring to "room at the top." In Chapter Two, Raymond C. Bowen offers an autobiographical account of his passage from the "projects" of New Haven to two community college presidencies and suggests an approach for African Americans interested in senior administrative positions. In Chapter Three, Isaura Santiago Santiago explores the demographics of Latinos in higher education and presents strategies for increasing the Latino leadership pipeline. Rafael L. Cortada examines the powers of the presidency in shaping administrative diversity in Chapter Four, while M. Jack Fujimoto presents the recent successes of Asian Pacific Americans in entering administrative ranks in the chapter that follows. In Chapter Six, Gilbert H. Muller assesses the role of urban community colleges in promoting greater representation of minority administrators. In Chapter Seven, Donald G. Phelps and Lynn Sullivan Taber offer strategies for building comprehensive affirmative action programs that can serve as positive models for establishing a diverse administrative community. In Chapter Eight, David R. Pierce, James R. Mahoney, and Arnold M. Kee survey professional development resources for minority administrators. In Chapter Nine, Reginald Wilson looks to the future of community college administration and the "unfinished agenda." The final chapter presents an annotated bibliography of sources and information available through ERIC on expanding opportunities for minority administrators.

Within the several sectors of U.S. higher education, the nation's community colleges are beacons of hope for the achievement of administrative diversity. The purpose of this volume is to promote even greater racial and ethnic representation in administrative ranks and to illuminate the pathways to diversity that two-year institutions continue to create.

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For a number of reasons, community colleges have not achieved the same degree of diversity among their leaders as they have among their students. This paradox must be reconciled if these colleges are to reflect the same diversity in their leaders as in their students.

Paradox and Promise: Leadership and the Neglected Minorities

George B. Vaughan

Paradoxically, while they have achieved a high degree of diversity in the students they serve, enrolling almost 50 percent of the minorities attending the nation's institutions of higher education, community colleges have a dearth of minority presidents and academic deans. Simultaneously, however, minorities have a promising future in the many opportunities for leadership in these institutions. Reconciling the paradox and the promise is one of the major issues facing the community college today.

The following discussion examines this paradox and offers suggestions for fulfilling the promise community colleges hold for achieving the same diversity in leadership that they have achieved in student enrollment. The major focus is on the community college presidency, with some attention to academic deans and members of governing boards. Who, then, are the current leaders of the nation's community colleges?

Presidents

A survey of 1,097 public community college presidents completed in 1991 (837, or 76 percent of those surveyed responded) revealed that the presidential ranks were dominated by whites, with 89 percent of the presidents falling into that category. African Americans made up approximately 4.5 percent of the respondents, approximately 3 percent were Hispanic, 1.8 percent were Native Americans, and 1.7 percent were other minorities, including Asian Americans (Vaughan, Mellander, and Blois, 1994). Clearly, minority leadership at the presidential level does not reflect the diversity that we might expect to exist in an institution committed to embracing equal opportunity for all, at least in the student realm.

Pathway to the Presidency

To understand one reason for the dearth of minority community college presidents, it is helpful to understand the pathway current presidents traveled to reach their position. In a book on the community college presidency (Vaughan, 1986), it was reported that over 38 percent of the presidents at that time had served as chief academic officers of a community college prior to assuming their first presidency. Over 12 percent assumed their first presidency from a vice president's position, a position that is often responsible for the institution's academic programs. The conclusion at the time was that approximately 50 percent of the presidents assumed their first presidency after having served as their college's chief academic officer.

If doubts lingered that the most traveled pathway to the presidency was through the academic deanship, we have only to note that the next most traveled pathway to the presidency that had a clear "jumping-off point" was the dean of student services position, with 7.8 percent of the presidents traveling that route (Vaughan, 1986).

The pathway to the presidency was examined again in a 1991 presidential survey (over 72 percent responded to the survey). The results were equally clear that the academic pathway was the most traveled one by those assuming the presidency. The 1991 survey showed that 29 percent of the current presidents were academic deans prior to assuming their first presidency and that 28 percent were academic vice presidents. In 1991, then, 57 percent of the current presidents assumed the presidency from the chief academic officer's position. In contrast, 6.3 percent assumed the position from the dean of student services position, 5.6 percent were nonacademic vice presidents, and 4 percent were administrative deans prior to assuming the presidency (Vaughan, Mellander, and Blois, 1994).

Based upon the two surveys covering a decade of community college history, the message is clear: *If an individual wants to become a community college president under the current system, he or she can increase the odds by serving as a college's chief academic officer.* Obviously, with 43 percent of the presidents coming from positions other than the academic officer's position, it is clear that the academic route is not the only pathway to the presidency. Nevertheless, if the past is prologue to the future, what is clear is that if minorities are to move into the presidency in large numbers, they can position themselves for the presidency by gaining academic experience and serving as the college's chief academic officer.

Chief Academic Officers. As suggested above, if we are to understand one of the reasons there are relatively few minority presidents, we need to examine the pathways to the presidency, especially the chief academic officer's position. Who, then, are the chief academic officers at the nation's community colleges?

In 1989 Vaughan (1990) surveyed 1,169 chief academic officers at the nation's community colleges. The survey was returned by 619 (53 percent) of those surveyed. Of those responding to the survey, 7 percent were minorities. Of the minorities responding, 3.2 percent were African Americans, 1.8 percent were Hispanic, and 2 percent were members of other ethnic and minority groups. Assuming the 619 who responded are representative of the total academic officers surveyed, 38 of them would be African American, 22 would be Hispanic, and 23 would be from other minority groups, for a total of 83 minority academic officers.

For the past five years, an average of 125 presidential vacancies have occurred each year. Assuming that 57 percent of the vacancies are filled by chief academic officers, 72 of the new presidents would assume the presidency from their academic officer's position. Let us now assume that of the 72 academic officers assuming the presidency, 7 percent are minorities. Using the percentages from the academic officer's survey, we would find that of the 72 new presidents coming through the academic pipeline, 2 would be African American, 1 would be Hispanic, and approximately 2 would come from other minority groups. Stated another way, 7 percent or approximately 5 of the 72 new presidents coming from the academic officer's position would be minorities, hardly enough to increase diversity at the presidential level. Moreover, we must assume that of those vacancies occurring each year, some resulted from minorities leaving the presidency. This scenario would never achieve diversity at the presidential level in the nation's community colleges anywhere near what has been achieved with students unless things change in the number of minorities who are chief academic officers or unless presidents are selected from sources other than the academic officer's position.

Division Chairs and Faculty. A problem with peeling an onion is that one layer leads only to another. The same is true, up to a point, when we try to peel away the layers of who might be in the presidential pipeline. Quickly, then, let us peel away: 29 percent of those occupying the chief academic officer's position were division chairs before becoming chief academic officers, 11 percent were associate or assistant deans, 9 percent were deans of student services, and 12 percent moved into the position from a faculty position (Vaughan, 1990). While the pathways to the chief academic officer's position come from a number of directions, there is no reason to assume that a large number of minorities are following the pathway, especially when we look at the number of minority faculty members in community colleges.

In 1987, 9 percent of full-time faculty in the nation's public community colleges were minorities ("Full-Time Employees by Race"). By 1990 approximately 10 percent of all full-time faculty at the nation's public community colleges were minorities (Carter, 1994), hardly an adequate pool from which to draw future presidents. The pool of minorities begins to shrink as a person moves from faculty positions into the presidential pipeline. Many faculty, minorities and whites alike, simply do not want to be administrators; rather, they want to teach. Others who move into division chair positions, for any number of reasons, never move any higher in the administrative ranks. The same is true of those who move into the chief academic officer's position. And, as if the pipeline were not dry enough already, we only have to look a bit deeper into academia to discover additional problems.

African Americans serve to illustrate why the pipeline is less than full of minorities. Of those receiving master's degrees in 1991, 4.9 percent were African American, considerably less than the 6.6 percent of the master's degree recipients in 1977 (Harvey, 1994). Again, by the time the filtering process completes itself (from master's degree to doctorate to employment in the nation's 3,300 institutions of higher education), the supply of African Americans moving into the community college faculty positions is small. When we consider that under the current system over 90 percent of the community college presidents come from within the community college ranks (Vaughan, Mellander, and Blois, 1994), the flow of African Americans moving into the presidential ranks becomes a trickle. There is, however, some promise that the paradox facing the community college may have a brighter side.

Room at the Top

An important question now emerges: How many presidential vacancies are there each year in the nation's community colleges? To determine the number of presidential vacancies each year, the membership directories of the American Association of Community Colleges (AACC) were examined from the fall of 1990 through the fall of 1995. The directory includes all community colleges that are members of the AACC. A vacancy is defined as a new president at a given college in a given year. That is, if an individual has served as a president at one or more colleges and moves into a vacant position, then the individual would be counted among those assuming a vacant position, regardless of how many years he or she had previously been a president. Only the number of vacancies in the community colleges in the fifty states were analyzed. Table 1.1 gives the results of the analysis.

Clearly, with an average of 125 vacancies each year for the past five years, there has been room at the top for more minorities to move into the presidency. If we look at presidential vacancies as opportunities, the inherent promise of the community college with its commitment to equally serving all segments of society is impressive for those nonwhites who wish to become community college presidents. But vacancies do not always translate into opportunity, as the number of community college presidents who are minorities illustrates.

Governing Boards: Employers of Presidents

The selection of a community college president is a complex decision, often made amid many pressures. On most campuses today, faculty, administrators, support staff, and other members of the college community participate in the selection process. Ultimately, however, the college's governing board makes the

Table 1.1. Vacancies in Community College Presidencies, 1990–1995

Year	*AACC Membership*	*Vacancies*	*Percentage of Positions Vacant*
1990	1,113	n/a	n/a
1991	1,126	132	12
1992	1,140	112	10
1993	1,063	153	14
1994	1,017	110	11
1995	1,020	115	11

Note: Five-year average: 124.4.

Sources: AACC Membership Directories, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995.

decision as to whom to employ as president. An interesting question is, Who serves on these boards?

A survey of community college boards conducted in the spring of 1995 by Iris Weisman and me for the Association of Community College Trustees reveals the following about the racial and ethnic composition of community college governing boards. Of the 604 trustees responding to the survey question on race and ethnicity, 14 percent are minorities: 8.1 percent (49 trustees) are African American, 2.2 percent (13 trustees) are Hispanic, and 3.6 percent (22 trustees) are from other minority groups. The remaining 86 percent (520 trustees) are white. There is no reason to assume that college board members vote along racial lines. Nevertheless, if more minorities are to move into the presidency, it might help if community colleges had more trustees who see society through a perspective that is more attuned to minority presidential applicants, a perspective that often is not available to whites.

Recommendations

The above discussion has devoted more time to the paradox facing community colleges than to the promise of moving more minorities into the presidency. Nevertheless, if community colleges are to move toward a diversity in the presidency similar to that which exists among students, some steps must be taken at once. The following recommendations should help the process along.

1. Minorities must view the presidency as a career option and make plans for exercising that option. Plans include such obvious steps as obtaining a doctorate, getting a variety of experiences, seeking opportunities to work in administrative positions—no matter the level. In addition, minorities should have mentors, role models, and sponsors who can help them advance their careers. The race and ethnic background of mentors and sponsors is far less important than what they can give to the minority seeking to move into the presidential pipeline. A brief word about what is meant by sponsor: each minority who aspires to the presidency should have a sponsor who has credibility in the field and who is willing to put

his or her own reputation on the line when recommending the minority for the presidency. A sponsor is not necessarily a person's mentor or role model.

2. Governing boards should do all they can to create, to use the words of a minority leader, "an institutional climate conducive to diversity" (de los Santos, 1994, p. 78). Evidence suggests that once minorities become presidents, they experience some frustrations to a degree not experienced by white presidents. (Females, regardless of ethnic background and race, often experience similar frustrations to those of minorities.) For example, in the 1991 survey of presidents (Vaughan, Mellander, and Blois, 1994) over 50 percent of the minority presidents saw the presidency as a high-risk position versus 38 percent of the white presidents. Similarly, over 61 percent of the minority presidents viewed the presidency as a high-stress position versus 52 percent of the white presidents. Minority presidents leave their home state (defined as the state in which they were living at high school graduation) to assume a presidency more often than do white males, with almost 65 percent of the minorities serving as president in states other than the one in which they finished high school. This contrasts with 47 percent of the whites who become presidents in states other than the one in which they finished high school (Vaughan, Mellander, and Blois, 1994). The point is that trustees, faculty, and others should work to assure that the presidency is as appealing to minority candidates as it is to whites. This means being sensitive to those things in the academic environment (and some things in the external environment) that create stress and perceived risks for minorities, and eliminating as many as possible, thereby creating a climate that is friendly to minorities. For example, if a minority is the president of a college where the majority of the students and community members are white, trustees can pave the way for the president into important business, social, and political groups that otherwise might not open their doors freely to minorities. (Of course, the reverse would be true if the president were white and the majority of the community members and students were minorities.) Being accepted in all segments of society is a major way of reducing stress and the perception of risk in the presidency.
3. Minority trustees should work to explain to white board members the value of employing minorities as president. This must be done in ways that will not divide the board along racial lines. On the other hand, white trustees must be sensitive to some of the reasons why minorities do not apply for the presidency and work with the president of their own institution to identify, educate (train), and recruit minorities for administrative leadership positions.
4. If a greater degree of diversity is to be achieved at the presidential level in the near future (and maybe the distant future), trustees must look at sources other than the academic pipeline for presidents. As shown above,

the pipeline, while not dry, is certainly not full enough to make a significant impact on the number of minorities assuming the presidency in the near future. The point was made above that 57 percent of the presidents responding to the 1991 survey used the chief academic officer's position as the jumping-off point for the presidency. Take away the 57 percent, and the glass remains almost half full. That is, 43 percent of the presidents come from sources other than the academic officer's position. No study is available that shows that presidents coming through the academic pipeline are more effective than those who do not.

With this in mind, trustees should identify other sources for locating presidents and identify and recruit minorities from those sources. For example, today the external role of the president is more important than has been true in the past. Might not a dean of community services, who works in the community daily, make an outstanding president? Diversity is the one word that best describes the students attending community colleges. Who on campus is more familiar with the issues facing students than the dean of student services? Should not this position be an important jumping-off point for the presidency? Budgets are being cut almost daily, or so it seems. The financial dean is at the center of the cuts. Rarely, however, is the financial dean at the center of the presidential selection process. Should he or she be? Qualified individuals, a number of whom are minorities, are leaving the military. Would they make good community college presidents? Trustees should ask.

5. Current community college presidents should seek, mentor, and sponsor minority candidates for the presidency. As one minority president suggests, presidents and other leaders must demonstrate a commitment to minorities through their own examples (de los Santos, 1994). Only presidents are members of that large national network that often grooms individuals for the presidency. Trustees also listen to presidents regarding who might make an effective president.
6. Finally, trustees, presidents, faculty, and everyone else concerned with presidential selection should eliminate the words "best qualified" from their vocabulary. Colleges are seeking qualified candidates for their presidents. If the qualifications call for an earned doctorate, then the Ph.D. degree should not carry more weight than the Ed.D. Of course, the reverse is true. If the qualifications call for administrative experience at the dean's or vice president's level, ten years of experience should not be viewed as more desirable than five. If the qualifications call for teaching experience, ten years should weigh no heavier in the selection process than three years. Trustees should not eliminate minorities (and women) from consideration for the presidency because they are not the "best qualified," a stance that makes no sense in today's society where there is often little past experience that prepares us for many of the duties presidents must perform in the future.

Conclusion

What can we conclude from the above discussion? First, the case has been made for more diversity at the presidential level. Second, it has been shown that the academic pipeline, the traditional route to the presidency, will not produce a large number of minority presidents in the near future. Third, the discussion suggests that trustees and presidents can and should enhance minorities' chances for assuming the presidency.

Will the paradox inherent in community colleges serving large numbers of minority students while having only a small number of minority presidents remain with the community college in the future? Or will the promise of moving more minorities into the presidency be fulfilled, thereby dispelling the paradox? The answer to these questions is yet to come. What is known is that the paradox will not reconcile itself nor will the promise be fulfilled without action from trustees, presidents, and others committed to diversity in community college leadership.

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The writer's personal passage from the projects of New Haven to two college presidencies provides insight into more than a half century of the African American experience and a guideline for minority educators seeking administrative positions.

From the Projects to the Presidency: An African American Odyssey

Raymond C. Bowen

During the past century, millions of African Americans migrated from the rural South to urban areas of the North and West. This outward migration has slowed in recent years because of economic and social factors, and southern urban areas now are actually experiencing "reverse migration," or increases in the black population. As a result, the overwhelming majority of African Americans live today in urban centers of the United States. Whether urban, suburban, or rural, a significant percentage of those African Americans who attend college begin their postsecondary education at community colleges. Of the six million students who attend community colleges, between 500,000 and 600,000 are African Americans. Although there are more than twelve hundred community colleges in the United States, African American presidents or chancellors make up less than seventy-five of the CEOs. If census projections are correct, minorities will make up one-third of the population early in the twenty-first century (Hodgkinson, 1985), and if 40 percent of minority educators retire by the year 2000 (Bryant, 1992), we have an opportunity to increase their representation as community college leaders.

No pathway to the community college presidency is easy for minorities. Nevertheless, given the increasing numbers of African Americans and Latinos who attend college, the challenge to help them gain leadership positions is enormous. The current political climate—the reduction in student financial aid, the attacks on affirmative action, the increasingly negative perception of underserved minorities by "majority" culture—complicates the problem further. My pathway to the community college presidency spans several generations of life in the United States; it should not be construed as a model or template but rather as a demonstration that the presidency can be attained despite numerous impediments.

I grew up in the "projects" of New Haven, Connecticut, a New Deal kid conditioned by the rigors of the Depression era. Most African Americans with whom I attended public schools in New Haven from 1940 through the early 1950s did so without ever being taught by an African American teacher. Yet more than 80 percent of the black graduates in my high school class eventually attended college. Although we would have preferred educational role models that looked like us, our quest for an education was not impaired by their absence. This is the reverse of what is happening with today's African American high school graduates. Despite the fact that there are many African American teachers in our public schools today, particularly in urban areas, fewer black students are entering college. (It is ironic that this is occurring as high school graduation rates are continually rising.) Between 1976 and 1985, there was a precipitous drop of 26 percent in the number of black high school graduates entering college (Stewart, 1988), and although that downward spiral reversed itself in the subsequent decade, the situation today is still daunting. Thus, before we can increase the number of minority college administrators, we must first find ways to increase the number of minorities attending college.

In my frequent conversations with other African American community college presidents, many admit that they had no idea during their early years that they would attend college, much less become college presidents. My road to this position is similar though not identical to the path taken by several current community college presidents of African American descent. Against overwhelming odds, we were able to endure and become college presidents. Perhaps those individuals seeking to enter the pipeline today (and I acknowledge at the outset that we must increase and sustain more African American and Latino community college administrators) might derive some insight from my own odyssey from the projects to the presidency.

Early Years

The Elm Haven projects, where I spent my early years, was a diverse neighborhood with all racial and ethnic groups. However, the project itself was segregated. African Americans, Latinos, and Asians lived in one section, and whites in another. The elementary, junior high, and high schools we attended were integrated in terms of racial and ethnic diversity. As with most schools today, the curriculum did not reflect the multicultural richness of the student body. Thus, the role models we tried to emulate came from outside the educational system.

Many of our parents worked for Winchester Repeating Arms, Armstrong Tires, the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad, and other businesses and industries in the area. With very few "professionals" in the city, some of us considered those African Americans employed by Yale University as the models to emulate. Primarily, in those days, they worked for the many fraternity houses located on the campus. They were the stewards, waiters, bartenders, and busboys. Nonetheless, they left home wearing suits, white shirts, and ties and were proud that they worked *at the university*. They became our role models because of their association with Yale University. Although I had no idea I would ever become a college faculty member or administrator, as a kid I sensed that "having it made" was working *at the university*.

During the early 1940s, I attended Winchester Elementary School, located on the edge of the projects within this ethnically and racially diverse community. The student body was completely integrated. However, the teachers always were white females, and the principals white males. Neither most of my peers nor I ever had the experience of being taught by a teacher who looked like us. We did not question that disparity because it had always been that way. The *good* kids in my elementary school were allowed to borrow and return books from the public library located near *the university*. Most everyone in my classes vied for that honor. I did my homework and was rarely tardy. I sat up straight and did not chew gum in class. I was a *good* kid; I could take books from the library near the university.

Following World War II, colleges and universities throughout the country were flooded by returning veterans, and Yale was no exception. The dress for Yale students in those days was blue blazers, khaki pants, and white bucks. Consequently, many of us from the projects wore our blue blazers, khaki pants, and white bucks to Troup Junior High School or Bassett Junior High School. Little did we realize that the khaki pants worn by the "Yalies" were part of their old uniforms; they could afford little else. Nevertheless, we wanted it to appear as though we too attended *the university*. Despite very significant racial and class inequalities, we too wanted to absorb what Glennon in an article entitled "Yale: Reflections on Class in New Haven" terms Yale "polish" or "way of dressing, talking, holding conversations" (1978, pp. 639, 640). The irony is that during the 1940s less than one-tenth of 1 percent of the Yale undergraduates were African Americans, yet they were the ones we emulated.

When Levi Jackson, star running back of our local high school football team, went to Yale in the late 1940s, it boosted the morale of most of us. Not only did he excel on the field, but he became captain of the football team at *the university*. Finally we had a role model who was a student to whom we could relate! This hero looked like us, talked like us, and eventually married a woman from the projects. He eventually became a senior executive for the Ford Motor Company. Levi Jackson may never realize the positive effect he had on many of us in cementing our attitude toward higher education.

Although my father and mother graduated from Hillhouse High School in 1930 and 1932, respectively, neither had a college education. During the Depression, a high school education for African Americans yielded no economic benefits in New Haven. By today's standards, we would definitely be classified as underclass. Nevertheless in our house, we probably had the largest home library in the project. There were two sets of encyclopedias, the complete works of William Shakespeare, the Harvard Classics, and many other of the so-called canons. Additionally, there were books by DuBois and Dunbar, Wheatley and Cullen, and other African American authors. Music also flowed through our apartment—all kinds, from Count Basie to Bela Bartok, Bessie Smith to Johan Sibelius, Richard Wagner to T-Bone Walker. Kids throughout the neighborhood came to my home to listen to my father speak Latin, and my mother Spanish or French. These languages were taught to them in high school in spite of the Depression. Education was the "thing" in our household.

At an early age, I realized that you did not need college-educated parents or to be born with a silver spoon to appreciate the value of education. Neither did your role models have to be physicians, lawyers, or professors. The problem for my sister, brother, and me was not *if* we would go to college but where our parents could afford to send us. Whenever I return to my hometown today, I find that those friends that did not attend college made sure that their children did. I now realize the effect that living near a university had on the African American community of New Haven, Connecticut, for the ethos of the project—what Erikson and Erikson term "the organizing power of the social processes . . . a certain spirit . . . almost like what the community is for" (1981, p. 268)—was rooted in educational aspiration. My small neighborhood has given higher education at least three college presidents, a graduate dean at a prestigious university, and several faculty members at colleges and universities throughout the country.

On the surface, growing up in the projects in the 1940s was not much different from living in the project today. Many of us belonged to gangs and had been arrested. There were pushers and junkies, winos, pimps, and prostitutes. Nevertheless, people in the neighborhood cared. To skip school was to invite trouble. I did it once and was caught by one of the elderly "matriarchs" of the project. To this day I believe that her sole purpose for being was to ensure that the neighborhood kids attended school and stayed out of trouble. After being whipped by her, I was taken to the Majestic Laundry, where my mother was employed and where I received another lashing. Later that evening when my father came home from his railroad job, he compounded the punishment. Their logic for this punishment was to underline the value of education. You do not skip school! If you do, the consequences suffered in later life will hurt more than the spankings. I recall the old cliche, "You have to be twice as smart as the white boy just to stay even." You cannot stay even by skipping school.

In the late 1940s, we moved from the Elm Haven project to McConaughy Terrace, another project. By then, I had begun to develop an interest in science at Hillhouse High School, founded in 1881—the city's oldest high school and offering "the only college preparatory course in the city" (Lebow, 1993, p. 31). This interest was almost shattered by my high school biology teacher who told me that I would do better with a shoeshine box. He said, "There are no Negro scientists." However, I knew better because my parents had taught me about

George Washington Carver and Benjamin Banneker. Although I did not understand the word "coagulation," I knew that an African American named Dr. Charles Drew had done something with blood that saved people's lives. I believed that if Carver, Banneker, and Drew could become scientists, then so could I.

Many minority students face similar situations in our public schools today, where overt and covert racism destroys their interest not only in certain disciplines but in the entire educational system. As I reflect on my high school days, I realize now that my experience with that science teacher was the first step in my passage from the projects to the presidency. Never again would I become upset when people told me of my limitations, particularly when I think their reasons for my inadequacies were based on race. The most important step in becoming a college president is to develop a *can-do* attitude. And as a chief executive, one must infuse this attitude institutionally through the delegation of responsibility and shared governance, concepts that unfortunately are still inimical to most community colleges (Stoddard, 1989). Many times, minorities must make decisions in spite of nonsupportive people and not because of them.

From School to College

Being a fairly good student in high school, I was accepted at the University of Connecticut. I did not even bother to apply to Yale University. African Americans had to be superstars to have the audacity to apply to *the university* in those days. Results from the standardized tests required of freshmen placed me in remedial sections of both math and English. To this day, I question the value of standardized tests as well as that of remedial education. I find standardized tests to be culturally biased and erroneous when used as a measure of potential success, especially for minority students. My problem with remedial education as taught in most colleges is not with the content but with the pedagogy. A belief in student potential, regardless of standardized test scores or the need for remedial instruction, is imperative for a community college president, especially in urban areas with large minority populations.

When I attended the University of Connecticut during the early 1950s, there were about thirteen thousand undergraduates, but only twenty were African Americans. Although I had a major in biology and a minor in chemistry, I thoroughly enjoyed the humanities and social sciences. When I received a failing grade on an English paper in which I gave *my* interpretation of a Robert Frost poem, I decided to stick with the sciences. To this day, I cannot understand why I was asked *my* opinion and then chastised for *my* response. I found the humanities and social sciences too subjective for me. In mathematics, two plus three will always equal five; in science, hydrogen plus oxygen will yield water. In my science and math courses, I did not have to worry as much about the teacher's interpretation or perceived bias. Although I no longer remember the numerous chemical equations or the genus and species names of various plants and animals, I do remember the scientific method and, as president, use it as an approach to problem solving. Usually the objective approach to solving problems—but objectivity with a human face—is the hallmark of a successful presidency.

After graduating from college in the mid 1950s, I entered the U.S. Army for three years and worked as a laboratory technician. There was virtually no employment for a zoology major with only a B.A. degree, especially if he or she was African American. Having taken no education courses, I could not teach in the public schools, and besides, teaching was the furthest from my mind. After discharge from the army, I enrolled at the University of New Mexico as a "graduate special." This category was given to students perceived to have potential, but whose undergraduate grades did not meet the admission requirement. During those days, I worked ten hours a day at a local hospital to support a wife who was a college junior and a newborn son. Attending and studying for classes used up another nine hours. Luckily, I required only three or four hours for sleeping. Despite the grueling schedule, I received my master's degree and believed that I did have potential as a scientist. I returned to Connecticut and enrolled at the University of Connecticut in the doctoral program with the goal of becoming a zoologist.

Steps to Becoming a College President

I was completely different from the person who barely had graduated six years earlier. From the army, I had learned discipline; from my master's program, I had gained confidence; and from my family, I had learned responsibility. Given these assets, I knew that getting a Ph.D. degree was just a matter of time. And so it was. Higher education would become my life's work. These "virtues," as William Bennett (1993) might call them, not only helped me in becoming a college president but helped me keep that position.

Teaching and Research. After graduation, I pursued postdoctoral studies at Ohio Wesleyan University and the University of Illinois. By then, I had developed a love for both teaching and scientific research. However, there was something missing that I could not put my finger on. My first full-time teaching position was at Cleveland State University (CSU) as an assistant professor of biology. Within two years, I had publications in major science journals and had received glowing reports on my teacher evaluations. Still something was missing. To me, there was more to life than doing research and teaching a few hundred students a year. Maybe I was not cut out to be a research scientist.

Position in Administration. Following the death of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in 1968, there were uprisings in many cities throughout the United States, and Cleveland was no exception. The Hough and Glenville sections of the city smoldered, and black students occupied buildings at Cleveland State University. Like many students throughout the nation during those times, they met with university officials to discuss their concerns, one of which was the need for an African American administrator on campus. Empathizing with the students, the president asked if they had anyone in mind. Without my knowledge, the students "volunteered" their biology professor. Thus I became special assistant to the president for minority affairs. I realized the position was a token one with virtually no power, but from that vantage point I was able to "learn the system": who influenced whom; which dean or vice president held the power; who the real leaders on the faculty were; and who the leaders in the various neighborhoods in the city were. Little did I realize that I was learning the basic tenets that could lead to a presidency.

One of my charges as special assistant was to increase the enrollment of African American students, a charge that exceeded even my own expectations. I knew from experience that traditional modes of recruitment would be fruitless. Having been raised in the projects, I felt quite comfortable meeting in bars and pool halls and with the various militant and nationalist groups of that day. I was considered one of the guys who just happened to work at the university. Additionally, I enjoyed talking to potential students in schools, community houses, and street corners. The old adage "never forget from whence you came" helped me in my early administrative career. Within three years, the enrollment of African American students at CSU increased from less than fifty to nearly two thousand.

In 1970 my wife, a nursing administrator at one of the local hospitals, received a grant from CSU's College of Education to work toward a master's degree. The purpose of the grant was to train professionals, not working in community colleges, to become community college teachers. During that year, she worked very closely with Cuyahoga Community College (CCC). Until that time, my only association with community colleges was in recruiting students. Like many of my university colleagues, I believed that those schools were for students who could not make it in "real" colleges or universities. I began to read voraciously about those weird institutions and visited CCC numerous times—not to recruit but to learn. I became fascinated that many of the students reminded me of my youth. They were from the projects or other underserved neighborhoods. Many were black or brown or yellow. They were told they could not succeed. (Perhaps their science teacher had told them to get a shoeshine box!) They were taking remedial courses. I then realized that if I really wanted to make a difference, I should explore community colleges.

In 1970 I was promoted to a deanship and became a tenured associate professor of biology shortly thereafter. Later that year, I was recruited by a new community college, which at the time had no name, in New York City. When my colleagues discovered my intentions to move from a developing university to an unnamed community college, they wanted to have me institutionalized. One had to be insane to leave a deanship and a tenured position at a university for an associate deanship with no tenure at a community college. Based on the history of African Americans in these United States, I questioned whether we could be secure in any position in America. Thus, in 1971 I left CSU for the newly named Fiorello H. LaGuardia Community College of the City University of New York.

Deanship at LaGuardia Community College. LaGuardia Community College was located in the highly industrialized region of western Queens. The main building was an old dilapidated structure where bombsights had been made during World War II. The community consisted of working-class people of many ethnic and racial groups, and few households were college educated. For me, this was déjà vu. It reminded me of New Haven, Connecticut, in the 1940s. For the first time in my educational career, I felt at home.

Most administrators and faculty dream of building a new college, but not many are fortunate enough to realize that dream. With few exceptions, the faculty and administrators recruited to develop LaGuardia Community College were students of the 1960s. We were iconoclasts and believed that by transforming traditional pedagogy, education would be reformed. We were eager to do new things. For example, it was decided that all matriculated students must enroll in cooperative education—a program that amalgamates the theoretical with the practical. In other words, classroom experiences connect with the world of work. Prior to the arrival of our first class of students, we decided that LaGuardia would be one of the top community colleges in the nation. Faculty, administrators, community members, and legislators met continually at one of the local restaurants to discuss the philosophy, potential programs, vision, and mission of our new college. It was during these informal meetings that I began to understand the importance of community colleges in the educational continuum.

After a few months in my new position, I realized what had been missing in my educational career. It was the feeling that I could make a difference in the lives of students whose backgrounds were similar to mine. They were the underserved racial and ethnic minorities. Most required remediation, and some had been arrested. They were mothers and fathers who held full-time jobs while attending school. Many had received little help or guidance in high school but were pursuing a higher education in spite of and not because of the "system."

Vice Presidency of Community College of Baltimore. Four years later, I moved to Maryland as the vice president of the Community College of Baltimore's (CCB) new Harbor Campus. This was my first experience working at a college where the majority of the students were African American. The president, who hired me, died shortly after my arrival, and a new president was appointed. He consolidated the administrations of Harbor Campus and the older Liberty Campus. I became vice president of academic and student affairs within the new structure. Clearly, this fortuitous promotion ultimately would position me for a college presidency, for as Vaughan (1986) first documented, a majority of community college administrators achieve the presidency after having served as chief academic officers of an institution. Baltimore did not give its new president the financial and political support it had extended to the previous president. Lack of support from the city coupled with a weak board of trustees stifled the college for many years. Eventually, the college was placed under state jurisdiction.

Presidency of Shelby State Community College in Memphis

Although public two-year colleges had existed in Tennessee for nearly twenty years, none had had a minority president. The governor and the chancellor of the Tennessee Board of Regents promised the residents of Memphis that the next president of its community college would be an African American. This promise was realized when the three finalists were African Americans with senior-level administrative experience in community colleges.

The interview is the most important step in becoming a college president. Most finalists in any search process have met all of the published qualifications or prerequisites. To get the edge on the other candidates requires much homework regarding the institution as well as the city, town, or region in which the college is located. Many of my colleagues who were excellent scholars and administrators faltered during the interview. Because a program was successful at one institution does not ensure its success at another and so before my interview, I learned everything possible about Memphis, Tennessee: its history, socioeconomic structure, race relations, politics, and so forth.

Never let the interview committee perceive that you have all the answers, nor should they believe that only you can save their institution. Humility is a virtue. You should project the belief that your experience, coupled with their guidance, is a winning combination. After eleven years of community college administration, I was appointed to the presidency of Shelby State Community College in Memphis.

As at Cleveland State many years before, this new position was a direct result of affirmative action. Based on my qualifications and experience, I believed I could move the institution to great heights with little difficulty. I was in for a rude awakening. Memphis was one of the poorest cities in the United States with a population of more than 500,000. Shortly after my arrival, I was told that in this city, "Everything is based on race."

Nearly 50 percent of the population was African American. Shelby State had tremendous support from the black community but little from the white. Because of the long history of African American subjugation in Tennessee, I found strong support from the State Legislative Black Caucus, the vast majority of whom were from Memphis. As with most legislators, individual members had their own agendas. Thus it was important to meet constantly with them, individually and collectively, to assure adequate funding for the institution.

Because Memphis is in the Bible Belt, I found it necessary to visit and speak in the numerous churches within the city. I often found myself serving as the ombudsman between the affluent white business community and the poor black community. As the only African American community college president in the state, I served on twelve local, state, and regional boards at one time. All were service oriented. By contrast, many of the white community college presidents served on bank and other corporate boards. Fortunately, I survived that ordeal. In time I began to realize that in Memphis, as in most cities in the United States, *everything* is indeed based on race.

Presidency of LaGuardia Community College

The novelist Thomas Wolfe once suggested that you can't go home again, but after spending seven years at Shelby State, I returned to New York as president of LaGuardia Community College. The demographics of the college's student population had shifted since I had left fourteen years earlier. It had changed from 80 percent white to more than 80 percent minority. There were about 37 percent Latinos, 29 percent African Americans, 17 percent Caucasians, 11 percent Asians, and 6 percent other ethnic groups. Also, one thousand foreign students attended the college. As in the early 1970s, most students were from working-class families and were first-generation college students. What was most amazing to me was that almost half of the students were born outside the United States. They were the new kids on the block.

During my fourteen-year absence from LaGuardia, the institution had gained a reputation as being one of the top community colleges in the nation. Its Middle College and International High Schools along with the cooperative education program had received numerous awards. Publications of the faculty equaled those of many prestigious universities. The graduation and transfer rates of the students, particularly minority students, were in the upper 2 percent among the nation's community colleges. My personal challenge was not only to maintain LaGuardia's reputation but to move the college to even greater heights.

To accomplish this task, I knew that my academic degrees, lectures, and publications alone were not enough. I had to think like the residents of the Elm Haven projects in the early 1940s. I had to return to my early life as a member of the underserved, clawing, fighting, and working my way out of the Depression. This early experience enabled me to work with the various ethnic and racial groups that had become LaGuardia Community College and its surrounding neighborhoods. I had to make known to whomever I met that I was not a president who happened to be African American, but an African American who happened to be a president. To me, LaGuardia is a microcosm of what urban community colleges will become in the twenty-first century. My task is to protect and strengthen its mission even as I encourage the goals of affirmative action, insist on meaningful faculty diversity, and share the contours of my pathway to the presidency with individuals who also seek senior leadership positions.

As chief executive officer of an urban community college, I strive to be a visible champion of the institution as well as a leader willing to invest the resources of the presidential office in order to make a strong commitment to policies that promote administrative diversity. At present, LaGuardia's core administration consists of fourteen individuals in titles ranging from assistant dean to provost to president. Currently six of these senior administrators are from minority groups—a 43 percent figure that also reflects the diversity of LaGuardia's faculty and staff.

Most administrators at LaGuardia have moved up through faculty ranks to assume leadership positions; some have been recruited through broad searches. At LaGuardia, we insist on rigorous affirmative action guidelines; and the chief affirmative action officer, unlike the vast majority of her counterparts nationally, has the power to stop any search that fails to generate a broad and diverse pool of potential candidates for both faculty and administrative positions. As Washington and Harvey assert: "High visibility and determined leadership by the chief executive and academic officers of the college or university are the most important elements that set the stage for successful affirmative action" (1989, p. 43).

Ultimately, we shape our own destiny but often discover that our careers, educational and otherwise, are molded by vaguely perceived forces and unintended consequences. There was a fair amount of serendipity involved in my passage from a research professor, to dean, to vice president, to president; but to some degree there was also a conscious desire on my part to get as many students from U.S. "projects" into the educational pipeline as possible. To me, this desire to offer a strong academic experience for *all* students is the essence of leadership—and it is what minority educators aspiring to administrative or executive roles should consider if they are to embody the ideals and virtues of the communities they came from—and the community colleges they want to help lead into the twenty-first century.

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Increasing the Latino leadership pipeline will require a commitment to diversity by the entire higher education enterprise through the implementation of effective institutional and organizational strategies.

Increasing the Latino Leadership Pipeline: Institutional and Organizational Strategies

Isaura Santiago Santiago

Introduction

Latinos make up 10 percent of the population of the United States and 6 percent of the total enrollment in higher education. Yet in 1991, they composed only 2.2 percent of the faculty, 2.5 percent of full-time administrators, and 2.3 percent of the chief executive officers of our colleges and universities (Carter and Wilson, 1995). In failing to successfully incorporate all groups into the ranks of their students, faculty, and leadership, institutions put at risk not only their ability to successfully serve all groups but also the future of our pluralistic democracy. Institutions of higher education charged with preparing students for citizenship have an obligation both to teach about diversity and to serve as models of diversity.

This goal will require that they commit to achieving multiculturalism in their pedagogy and curriculum, and pluralism in their governance and administrative structures. In the process of achieving these broader institutional goals, Latinos and other minorities will be more successfully incorporated into their organizational structures because their participation will be based on the knowledge, skills, and experiences that they bring to their positions and the legitimate contributions they make in effectively serving Latinos, and all students, by creating and maintaining a multicultural and pluralistic college community.

Demographics of Latinos in Higher Education

This chapter presents some of the developing data on the demographics of Latino students, faculty, and administrators on the higher education campuses in the United States. It is only in this context that the full scope and the complexity of the task ahead of us can be appreciated. These data are followed by a discussion of institutional and organizational strategies that have shown demonstrable success in addressing the complex issues involved with increasing the representation of Latinos in the leadership pipeline: (1) Eugenio Maria de Hostos Community College (Hostos CC), (2) the National Community College Hispanic Council (NCCHC), and (3) the Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities (HACU).

Latinos Are a Diverse Group. Latino students and staff are very often treated by researchers and policy makers as though they were one homogeneous group. The fact is, however, that the Latino community in the United States is quite diverse, representing at least nineteen different countries. The three largest Latino subgroups are Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1993). There is substantial diversity reflected by distinct indigenous cultures and languages found in subgroups. Moreover, each national origin group's relationship to the United States differs as do their experiences related to factors such as immigration, socioeconomic relationships, and political relations. Many additional factors distinguish Latino national origin groups: race, socioeconomic status, prior educational experiences, language proficiency, and the number of generations lived in the United States are but a few. When national data on Latinos have been disaggregated by national origin, the experience of each group often varies quite significantly. Therefore, the diversity within the Latino community must be considered if solutions that meet their needs are to be formulated and implemented effectively (Cruz, 1995; Obler, 1995).

Latinos Are Not a "New" Minority. Another dynamic that needs to be addressed is that the higher education community continues to treat Latinos as a "new minority"—an absurd notion—yet deeply ingrained in the political culture of our nation. One consequence of this misconception is that all Latinos are perceived and treated as immigrants. Little, if any, recognition is given to the fact that Latino civilizations were an integral part of this hemisphere long before the Pilgrims settled here. Mexican people were systematically robbed of their lands and possessions and subjected to acts of discrimination and subjugation as the United States fulfilled its "manifest destiny." Puerto Rico was obtained as a spoil of the Spanish American War in 1898. Puerto Ricans became citizens of the United States in 1917 as a result of the Jones Act. A "commonwealth" relationship was declared in 1957, thereby establishing a unique political and economic connection. Cubans were invited to seek refuge in this country based on failed U.S. policies to continue to control its leadership. These realities hold very direct implications for policy makers. Since Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans hold a unique historical and political relationship to the people of the United States, our nation's key institutions have an obligation to more effectively incorporate them into their institutional structures.

Latino Students in the Pipeline. The Latino population of the United States grew by 53 percent between 1980 and 1990. The Census Bureau's 1992 projections predict rapid growth may continue—from 24 million in 1992 to 31 million by the year 2000, to 59 million by 2030, and 81 million by 2050. Thus, Latinos are likely to become the largest minority group in the United States. In 1990 nearly nine out of ten Hispanics lived in ten states. The four states with the largest proportion of Hispanics were California, Texas, New York, and Florida (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1993). In all four states, projections of the increased demands for access to higher education have emerged. These have been accompanied by discussions of the anticipated costs of meeting these needs (City University of New York, 1995; Breneman, Estrada, and Haywood, 1995) and indications that the door to higher education is beginning to close because additional revenues are not available (Breneman, 1995; Callan, 1994, 1995).

Latinos in College. Between 1982 and 1993, the number of Latinos attending two-year and four-year colleges rose by approximately 90 percent (Carter and Wilson 1995). In 1993, 56 percent of all Latinos enrolled in higher education attended two-year colleges. With these gains, Latinos represented 7.4 percent of all undergraduate students. The overwhelming majority of Latino students, 86 percent, attended lower-cost public institutions of higher education (Carter and Wilson, 1995). Unfortunately, Latino students were the least likely of all racial and ethnic groups to persist in college. Only 42 percent of 1980 Latino high school graduates who entered college on the traditional path were continuously enrolled through May 1984 (O'Brien, 1993).

On the master's and doctoral levels, Latinos in 1991 received 2.6 percent of all master's degrees awarded, the same proportion of masters awarded in 1985. In the same year, Latinos earned 732 (3 percent) of all doctoral degrees awarded. On both levels, most degrees were in the field of education; however, significant numbers were also offered in business, psychology, and the social, physical and life sciences (O'Brien, 1993). Clearly, there is a need to increase the pool of Latinos entering all segments of the pipeline. While the data serve as evidence that there is a pool of trained Latino professionals available from which the community college sector can draw, they also suggest that a variety of strategies will be needed to accomplish this, given the extraordinary concentration of Latinos in urban community colleges in selected states.

The Latino Leadership Pipeline. Historically, access to the presidency has been a tightly sealed pipeline, though there is more variation in the prior experience of those in other administrative positions. Ninety percent of all Latino presidents previously served as members of the faculty compared to 75 percent for all other presidents (Ross, Green, and Henderson, 1993). Similarly, leadership in executive positions, such as vice presidents, provosts, and deans of academic affairs, are also most likely to come from the faculty. Executives in other nonacademic areas are also likely to come from the faculty, though at much lower rates. Therefore, it is critical that any strategy that seeks to increase the number of Latinos in executive leadership positions must give attention to the recruitment and retention of faculty and academic and nonacademic administrators.

There is clearly reason for concern about participation rates of Latino faculty. While there was an increase in the participation rates of Latinos from 1.6 percent in 1982 to 2.2 percent in 1992 (Carter and Wilson, 1995), there was also a decrease during this same period in the percentage of Latino faculty holding tenure (from 65 percent to 61 percent) (Carter and Wilson, 1995). In addition, while increases in new appointments were reported by Carter and O'Brien (1993), they have also noted that 42 percent of all gains made between 1981 and 1991 were in nontenure-track positions. Community colleges offer somewhat more access to Latino faculty and administrators. In 1992 Latinos held 4.1 percent of all faculty positions at community colleges (Zimbler, 1994). At all levels, Latino faculty and administrators are more than twice as likely to be males (Zimbler, 1994).

Latino faculty also continue to be overrepresented in certain disciplines, including modern languages, social sciences (political science, ethnic studies, and so forth), and education. Participation rates across faculty ranks varies significantly, with most holding lower ranks (O'Brien, 1993), and the variance is also significant for different subgroups of Latinos. Puerto Rican participation rates, for instance, are so low as to be statistically insignificant in the ranks of full professors at the community college level (Carter and Ottinger, 1992).

Participation rates for Latino administrators rose from 1.7 percent in 1981 to 2.5 percent in 1991 (Carter and Wilson, 1995). Latinos represented 2.6 percent of college and university presidents in 1990, and they were most likely to be presidents of two-year colleges (Carter and Wilson, 1995). In 1992 only twenty-four Latinas held presidencies (Knoff, 1995). Ross, Green, and Henderson (1993) reported that between 1986 and 1990 the number of Latino presidents increased from fifty-five to sixty-three, though their proportion of all presidents remained the same. Of these, twenty-five (40 percent) were chief executives in Puerto Rico. The comparisons of Latinos with all chief executives were quite telling: 21 percent were in their first year as president (compared to 12 percent), 27 percent were women (compared to 12 percent), 37 percent were working at community colleges (compared to 33 percent), and 21 percent were working at public comprehensive institutions (compared to 12 percent).

***"Entre la Pared y la Espada:"* Between a Rock and a Hard Place.** Little empirical research has been conducted that would increase our understanding of what this data means and what the experiences of Latino faculty and administrators are in our institutions, least of all our community colleges. There is, however, a significant body of literature that reports the personal experiences of Latinos. What emerges from the literature is a clear sense that Latinos aspiring to and holding faculty and administrative positions continue to feel that there is considerable bias toward them in hiring (Aguirre 1987, 1995; Ruiz, 1990; de la Luz Reyes and Halcon, 1991; Chavez Chavez and

Padilla, 1995) and promotion policies and procedures (Padilla, 1995). Many express feelings of isolation and marginality (Cruz, 1995; Martinez Aleman, 1995). Others describe the lack of institutional support in the tenure review process (Torres-Guzman, 1995); many report direct acts of racism and prejudice (de la Luz Reyes and Halcon, 1988; Mindiola, 1995), still others present cogent analyses of the impact of tokenism on advancement (Contreras, 1995). Ruiz (1990) reported the perceptions of Latino chief executives that experienced bias in their quest for the presidency, and others (Haro, 1995) have documented the disparities between expectations of Latino candidates and others. If we are to prepare faculty and administrators in our community colleges for executive leadership positions, we shall need to address these feelings of marginalization.

As one reviews the literature, the theme that emerges is that most Latinos continue to feel that serious contradictions exist between the value and reward systems of their colleges and the needs of the students and communities that they serve. In essence, they find themselves "entre la pared y la espada." Given the fact that recent political and economic trends in the country have begun to limit access to higher education, Latinos in the leadership pipeline who are committed to access, excellence, and equity in higher education for all students are likely to face increasing challenges and will, therefore, need to be armed with more skills. More important, institutions will need to change not only their internal structures but their relationships to the external community as well (Mancuso Edwards and Mann, 1988). This can best be achieved through models of intervention that are effective in incorporating all groups into the life of our colleges (Gillett-Karam, Roueche, and Roueche, 1991). Clearly, solutions to these complex issues must begin at the institutional level as was the experience of Hostos CC.

Hostos Community College (Hostos CC)

At first blush, the reader might question the benefit of reporting the experience of Eugenio Maria de Hostos Community College (Hostos CC). It is a special purpose institution with a unique mission to provide bilingual instruction, workforce preparation, and service to the Latino community of the South Bronx, the largest Latino community in the city of New York. The college enrolls approximately 5,000 students, of which 73 percent are Latino, 22 percent are African American and Afro-Caribbean, 3 percent are white, and 3 percent are from other groups. Few institutions meet a similar profile. However, Hostos CC has been successful in breaking a paradigm. Many fully expect that, because its primary mission is to provide bilingual instruction in English and Spanish, the faculty and staff of the college are mostly Latinos. This is simply not the case. Today, full-time faculty are 39 percent Latino, 38 percent white, 16 percent African American, and 6 percent Asian. The executive and administrative leadership is 50 percent Latino, 14 percent white, 32 percent African American, and 4 percent Asian. Women are approximately 50 percent of faculty and administration. Minorities are proportionately represented among those holding tenure and are represented across all disciplines and faculty ranks and administrative positions. Furthermore, over 50 percent of the faculty hold the doctorate and an additional 15 percent hold terminal degrees. In comparison, the national average for community college faculty holding the doctorate is 15.5 (Li, 1995).

In achieving diversity in its faculty and administrators, Hostos CC has also achieved a high level of success in meeting the needs of Latino students through innovative instructional programs. Evidence that a competent and diverse faculty and administrative staff make a difference is found in the college's achievements. In 1993 despite its enrollment of only 5,000 full-time equivalent students, it ranked among the top twenty community colleges in the number of Hispanic graduates (*Community College Week*, 1993, p. 41). Hostos's graduates comprise approximately 20 percent of all Latinos at the associate degree level within the City University of New York. To give even greater relevance to the figure, the State University of New York system, with its twenty-one community colleges, graduates only twice the number of Latinos as Hostos CC. In 1993 and 1994, the College Board published the list of advanced standing minority students graduating with associate degrees and transferring to four-year colleges. Hostos CC ranked among the top two institutions in the country in the number of Latino students who transfer to four-year institutions (College Entrance Examination Board, 1994). In addition, its allied health career programs have shown extraordinary success. In 1994 students pursuing allied health careers experienced 100 percent success rates on professional licensure examinations in radiological technology, dental hygiene, and nursing.

While these achievements are significant, Hostos CC continues to face many challenges. Students entering the college at the lowest levels of English proficiency show the lowest retention and graduation rates, and the college community is continually dedicated to improving the bilingual model to ensure higher levels of success for these students in their linguistic, academic, and career advancement.

Success in achieving diversity of its faculty and administrative staff while achieving a high level of student success has been the result of the institution's commitment to diversity through the implementation of a bilingual-multicultural model of instruction. Linguistically, the bilingual-multicultural model is a transitional one. Latinos learning English as a second language receive intensive English-language instruction while they are given the opportunity to take introductory courses across the disciplines in Spanish. As they acquire a higher level of proficiency in English, they take an increasing number of subject matter courses in English. The curriculum is multicultural, incorporating knowledge of U.S. history, government, and culture, as well as the contributions of Hispanic civilizations and those of many other minority cultures in a global context. Inasmuch as they live in one of the poorest congressional districts in the country, students are challenged by a wide variety of barriers that mitigate against their academic success; therefore, bilingual student support services play a particularly important role in the design of the bilingual model.

Not all students that enter the college participate in the bilingual program; others who are either native speakers of English or who are second-language learners but have sufficient proficiency in English carry out a monolingual and multicultural program of study. This group includes students from all races and backgrounds. Flexibility in the program ensures the opportunity for diversity within the student body and also allows dominant English speakers to play an important role in creating a rich linguistic environment. The college's long-term vision is to establish a two-way bilingual-multicultural model wherein native English speakers have the full opportunity to learn Spanish as a second language through subject area instruction. This type of model, often termed a "two-way" model, would provide the most ideal conditions under which higher levels of multiculturalism and diversity can be achieved.

In implementing this multicultural model, Hostos CC has been successful in attracting and retaining a highly diverse, qualified, and effective cadre of faculty and administrators by translating its commitment to diversity into personnel practices that are both, in their ends and means, inclusive—a direct result of our commitment to multiculturalism and pluralism. This has not been an easy task. It has been the product of two decades of collective work that have resulted in both success and failure. Hostos CC, much like most institutions that have begun to make a commitment to diversity (Gillett-Karam, Roueche, and Roueche, 1991), continues to face many obstacles and challenges. Of the many strategies that have been implemented over the years, I have chosen only a few to describe here. Little reference is made to affirmative action programs and activities. Many (Gares and Delco, 1991; de los Santos, 1994) have provided sound guidelines for their implementation. For most institutions, once having made a commitment to multiculturalism in the curriculum and student services, the implementation of an effective affirmative action program will be a natural outgrowth.

Acknowledging Cultural Competence

To more successfully implement a multicultural model, our community colleges must become more effective in translating the cultural competencies into job descriptions and qualifications. Institutions often seek out Latinos to meet institutional needs but fail to articulate the knowledge, skills, and experiences required of the applicants. The consequence, very often, is that other faculty members are likely to perceive the candidate merely as the beneficiary of preferential treatment and as less qualified than other candidates. In reality, however, the candidate may have been more qualified than other candidates. Latino faculty members or administrators entering positions under these conditions face a long up-hill battle in their struggle to legitimize their work, much less receive recognition or rewards for it. It is, therefore, imperative that the true scope of work and qualifications should be made more explicit to both the candidate and peers engaged in the selection process. The consequences of our failure to accomplish this are far too clear. When other faculty members, majority or minority, are unclear as to what specific student and institutional needs are being met by Latino faculty members or administrators, it is less likely that they will respect or value their new colleagues. This is likely to affect collegial relationships and to damage the integrity of the peer review process that is so central to faculty retention in higher education. For Latino administrators, this is of particular concern, since their ability to carry out their jobs is largely dependent on the extent to which they have the respect of those they seek to lead.

Evidence that a candidate has knowledge of Latino history and cultural contributions is one that is easily assessed, yet rarely included in job requirements in fields other than ethnic studies, history, and anthropology. Other qualifications for a position that are often necessary but unspecified include evidence of skill in teaching or providing effective student support services to Latino students. This may include previous work in alternative educational programs that are outside traditional community college structures. Latinos are often brought in to design educational and student support interventions. Yet experience in traditional settings from which Latinos are often excluded or experience failure is often a key criterion in the selection of the "qualified candidate." Similarly, linguistic competence in the form of knowledge and skill in communicating in spoken and written forms of Spanish is usually undocumented. These skills enhance the effectiveness of the faculty to carry out a multicultural curriculum and administrators to provide multicultural student support services. They also enhance the ability of community college executives to communicate with the Latino community. Currently, Latinos will be the most likely individuals to meet some of these requirements; as we continue to implement multiculturalism across our institutions and produce a generation of multicultural citizens, others will meet these requirements. In the context of multiculturalism, institutions will frame job descriptions to meet the needs of all groups. Furthermore, in the context of the current challenge of affirmative action programs, this approach may well prove to be the most responsible and defensible vehicle for inclusion of minority faculty and administrators in higher education in the future.

Demystifying Tenure and Administrative Advancement

At Hostos CC, efforts to increase the retention of minority faculty and administrators have included strategies to reduce the feelings of frustration and marginalization expressed in the literature by Latino faculty and administrators. Many identify the lack of clear advice and support through the tenure review process, and administrators report frustrations caused by what are perceived as "mixed messages" and lack of recognition of contributions and opportunities for advancement. The leadership of Hostos addressed this problem through two separate strategies, one for faculty and one for midlevel administrators. For faculty, each year clear advice is given to every faculty member, not only minorities, as to the progress being made in each category in which the individual will be judged. Clarifying expectations, providing more specificity as to the criteria on which judgments are being made, providing specific recommendations for improvement, and providing feedback on a timely basis in a written communication, have improved the entire review process for everyone involved.

The process also required that chairs of departments and colleagues within the department continually communicate and reach consensus on the faculty member's progress. The process successfully served to "protect" minority faculty members in many respects. They are often asked to serve on too many committees or to provide service to too many students, and they often feel they cannot say no. To ensure that faculty members were not overextended in these areas, department chairs, in consultation with the faculty members involved, established parameters for these activities and, whenever necessary, communicated these to other college constituencies on their behalf.

The strategy implemented to address concerns about the retention and advancement of minority nonacademic administrators was also an inclusive one. Nonacademic administrators in the City University of New York carry the title of higher education officer (HEO), and there were no opportunities for them to earn promotions under existent personnel guidelines. Consequently, high levels of frustration and alienation were expressed by HEOs. The executive leadership of the college felt that this was a serious barrier to the retention and development of midlevel nonacademic administrators, particularly Latinos who were aggressively recruited by other institutions. To address this problem, the college worked with university leadership and developed and implemented new guidelines for the "reclassification" of positions and merit increases. The process of reclassification of positions required the delineation of the scope of duties of all HEOs, in order to establish a baseline for the scope of work at each of the three levels of appointment. These baselines serve as parameters for chief executives across the divisions of the college to review, make judgments, and provide advice to HEOs for career advancement. It also gave college executives the opportunity to include, where appropriate, multicultural competencies that are consistent with the college's mission and goals. Over 20 percent of HEO positions have been reclassified.

All personnel must feel they are part of a community of learners and are collectively engaged in a highly complex enterprise where change is a constant and mutual respect bonds the community together. Yet the challenge of leadership to maintain high morale is rarely addressed systematically or comprehensively by institutions of higher education (McDade, 1987). Hostos CC addressed this problem by establishing the College-Wide Implementation Task Force on Faculty and Staff Development and Recognition (CWITF) in an effort to ensure that a comprehensive effort was carried out to tie both professional development and recognition to the major goals of the college. The plan was tied to the four major goals of the college but within each division the substance, scope, and prioritization of these remained within the domain of the division. The chair works with the team leader of each of the four divisions in pulling together a comprehensive institutional plan for professional development that supports the three other major themes of the college's comprehensive strategic plans: bilingualism and multiculturalism, retention, and outcomes assessment.

Beyond the institutional level, the literature suggests that the executive leadership pipeline is nourished by professional contacts. Very often, these are provided by professional organizations. For Latinos, two organizations dedicated to the enhancement of the Latino leadership pipeline have emerged during recent years.

National Community College Hispanic Council

National Community College Hispanic Council (NCCHC) was established in 1985 and affiliated with the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges (currently the American Association of Community Colleges) under the leadership of Michael Saenz, president of Tarrant County Community College, and six Latino community college presidents. The group was directly concerned about the need for a Latino voice on national policies and issues affecting Latino students and faculty in community colleges. Advocacy work relative to policy issues affecting Latinos is carried out by the organization largely through communication vehicles such as newsletters, meetings, and presentations at annual meetings of the association. Just as Latinos are marginalized on the institutional level, Latinos as a group had lacked a presence in major national organizational structures. Commitment to addressing the underrepresentation of Latinos in leadership positions, the organization initially served as a mechanism for disseminating information about positions before embarking on a more aggressive effort. With support from the Ford Foundation, it established a fellowship program to prepare Latino midlevel administrators, mostly deans and directors, for the presidency. Over seventy Latinos have participated in the program over the past five years. While it is still too early to fully gauge the results, over 15 percent have become presidents, over 10 percent have become vice presidents, and many others have achieved higher levels of responsibilities or titles within their own or other institutions.

The NCCHC Fellowship Program provides these and other opportunities designed to give aspiring leaders a sense of grounding and support for their ideals of advocacy as well as the knowledge and skills necessary to effectively manage and change institutions and to provide access and excellence in education for all students. The establishment of the organization marked a major milestone in the overall panorama of higher education for Latinos in the community college sector.

Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities

Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities (HACU) was established in 1987. It is a national membership association consisting of more than 120 public and private colleges and universities in the continental United States and Puerto Rico. The organization has two types of membership: full members, Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSI), and associate members. For designation as an HSI and full membership in the organization, a college must be a nonprofit, accredited institution of higher education in which Latinos constitute a minimum of 25 percent of the total enrollment. Half of the members are two-year institutions. Associate member institutions may have any percentage of Latino students. They elect to become associate members as a result of their interest in educational issues affecting Latino students and faculty.

Much like the NCCHC, HACU was established by a small group of Latino presidents who felt that there was a need for a national organization that would serve as a voice of advocacy for Latino students, the Latino communities they came from, and the institutions that served them. Many realized that there were a growing number of institutions that were serving significant numbers of Latino students. HSIs are located in nine states and represent just 3 percent of all higher education institutions, yet they enroll approximately 45 percent of all Latino students (Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities, 1994). Latinos earned 36 percent of their associate degrees and 17.3 percent of their bachelor's degrees at HSIs in 1992 (Carter and Wilson, 1995, p. 19).

There is evidence that the organization's goal to serve as a vehicle to increase access to executive positions and provide avenues for networking have been successful. A recent survey I made of the seventy-four institutions in the continental United States that are HSIs (of these, forty-six are community colleges) reveals 707 Latinos or over 30 percent of Latinos holding major executive positions. Latinos were 29 percent of all presidents (32 percent at community colleges), 19 percent of all vice presidents (18 percent at community colleges), 20 percent of all deans (36 percent at the community college level), and 21 percent of all assistant and associate deans (25 percent at community colleges) (Santiago Santiago, 1995, p. 4). In addition, of the thirty new Latino presidents assuming positions between 1986 and 1990, 50 percent were appointed to colleges that were members of HACU (Ross, Green, and Henderson, 1993, pp. 26–28). Therefore, the organization has the potential to serve a significant segment of Latinos in the leadership pipeline.

The organization made a commitment to providing resources to member institutions for faculty and staff development early in its history. In 1993 the organization carried out a survey of institutional needs of member institutions with the goal of using the results to guide its own work as well as to target its efforts in raising funds for member institutions. Two-year HSIs reported inadequate funding and staffing problems to be the two highest ranked institutional needs (Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities, 1993). It has served effectively as a clearinghouse of information about positions available for students, faculty, and administrators. One component of the effort is the linking of all HSIs to the FEDIX-MOLIS system in which federal positions are announced. An extension of the program will allow all colleges to put the résumés of faculty on-line. This will maximize the opportunities for faculty to do consulting and enter into research projects in a broad spectrum of government agencies and thereby maximize their opportunities to publish and enhance their professional portfolios. In addition, administrators will have access to the announcement of government contracts and grants.

With respect to its role in advocating policies and resources that would support the work being done at HSIs by Latino and other faculty members, the organization developed a comprehensive policy agenda and established an office in Washington, D.C. HACU's accomplishments during its short history have been extraordinary. The organization was instrumental in the passage of special federal funding for HSIs under Title III of the Higher Education Act. It has conducted research and reported on the impact of financial aid policies on Latinos and their families. It has worked closely with other national organizations in advocating financial aid policies that would more directly meet the needs of Latino students. It has been successful in obtaining funding for the development and dissemination on selected HACU member campuses of innovative models for Latino access to higher education.

Through agreements with various government agencies, HACU has also been successful in increasing resources available to administrators of HSIs. This has included agreements to provide technical assistance, support services, training, and other resources to administrators of HSIs. HACU has also obtained funding for fellowship programs, provided training for administrators on a wide variety of issues, and, at each of its annual meetings, provided preconference workshops in leadership development. In summary, the organization has been successful in bringing a vast array of services to the leadership of HSIs (Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities, 1995). These services have not been provided exclusively to Latinos. On the contrary, the organization is committed to assisting HSIs and associate member institutions in preparing all students for a diverse society by making institutional environments receptive and effective for Latino as well as all other students they serve. This strategy of inclusiveness is at the heart of the success of HACU and of the other strategies discussed here.

Conclusion

In preparing all of our students for their responsibilities, not only as members of a workforce in a free economy but as citizens in a pluralistic democratic society, our community colleges must face the challenge of becoming models of diversity by incorporating multiculturalism into all of our institutional structures. A natural consequence of this process will be the successful enhancement of the leadership pipeline for all groups. In the process of achieving these goals, professional organizations will need to continue to play an important role as forums for the articulation of solutions to challenges faced in achieving this vision.

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Minority educators who achieve community college presidencies can serve as powerful agents for institutional transformation and change.

The Powers of the Presidency

Rafael L. Cortada

The pathways to the college presidency will always be complex and challenging for minorities. Nevertheless, the presidency of a college has a positive aura that is unique in society, and successful minority presidents can generate both confidence in the institution and a sense of educational excellence. In minority communities especially, a minority president can play a vital role as executive model, leader, and spokesperson for accepted, basic values. Such presidents will often provide linkages among Latinos, African American, Caribbean, and Asian populations as the nation's demographics shift.

It is unlikely that anyone was ever selected as president purely to address affirmative action concerns. But there is no doubt that affirmative action sensitized boards of trustees and search committees to the composition of the pools of candidates interviewed and retained as finalists. With that significant margin of inclusion, minorities and women were able at times to prevail, where they might otherwise have been arbitrarily dropped from consideration. Minority presidents articulate the full meaning of diversity and provide bridges to enable colleges to align their missions with the unique reality of multicultural America.

The pathways that I found to the presidency may be difficult but will be possible to pursue for our successor generation. Over two decades, I served as president of three predominantly black, two predominantly white, and one diverse college. Four were urban, one was suburban, and one was rural. They ranged in size from headcounts of 1,200 to 35,000. All were public, but four were state supported, and two were municipal institutions. The colleges stretched from coast to coast in five states and the District of Columbia. There are two lessons in these patterns that might help others. First, future educational leaders should refuse to be stereotyped. To be defined as limited to serving only certain kinds of institutions, students, or communities is to limit one's mobility and opportunities for growth. However, one should indeed have a sense of one's own strengths and interests. And energies should be focused on institutions whose needs match one's abilities. Second, future leaders should not limit their interest by geography, sector of education, or type of institution. Our society will be continually more diverse, whether we choose to accept that reality or not. The most competitive graduates of our colleges will be those most able to thrive with diversity. Effective leadership will come from those able to prepare students for this environment.

Mine can be described as an "accidental" career in administration. I was on track for a professorial life, with a focus on teaching, research, and public service. My research and teaching interests had evolved from medieval Spain and modern Europe to include the Pan-African diaspora and the Caribbean. But as student unrest destabilized all of our colleges, young minority faculty were often helpful conduits between isolated administrators and confrontational and alienated students. The very traditional administrations in place in the late 1960s were ill prepared to deal with the needs and demands of the first wave of minority students admitted. Even the urban and historically black colleges and universities were jarred by the alienation of students of that era. I became an administrator at a time when students spoke of revolution, and affiliation with the Black Panthers, Young Lords, or Weathermen was acceptable. I moved from a history classroom to an associate provost's office with no background in finance, facilities, collective bargaining, or personnel administration.

The next generation of minority administrators will have to structure their careers more deliberately. Full-time teaching will continue to be important, especially if the expertise is in a core discipline. But an academic background in administration will also be useful. The politics of senior administration, the complexities of federal and state regulations, and the volatility of labor relations will no longer allow for trial-and-error learning on the job. Furthermore, administration will no longer represent the flip side of a teaching career. Collective bargaining has created sufficient polarization that administration has become a parallel and separate career path from teaching. Future educators should be keenly aware of this reality as they commit themselves to one or the other. In my own case, a summer at the Institute for Educational Management (IEM) at Harvard provided the technical skills needed to survive. Intense programs of study of this nature should be pursued by any minority academician hoping to compete for the presidency.

There are many personal and professional characteristics and behaviors that will prepare future leaders for the presidency. It will be vital for future leaders to learn to "listen." All of these educators will be articulate; many will be eloquent. But success will come to those who are able to "listen" and "hear" the concerns expressed by others. Our institutions are increasingly incoherent and fragmented. Leaders who can "hear" the concerns of the many constituent groups, from legislators to student leaders, will have a clearer sense of institutional strengths, weaknesses, and pitfalls. While "listening," it is essential that leaders evaluate all they hear. Many constituents will be self-serving. That is to be expected. Leadership should be able to sort out the various interests and agendas faced. Urban and minority institutions bring enormous resources into communities that are often quite poor. These can become a focal point for those who do not see the greater long-term value of education. Leaders who are gullible will not succeed.

Future leaders should avoid isolation and learn to delegate. It is quite easy to become comfortable on presidential turf, shielded by competent and dedicated staff. But the "cocoon" will also desensitize a person to institutional realities. There is real value in moving regularly through the institution, seeing faculty in their offices and students at rest in the cafeteria or at play in the gym or theater. The opportunities for informal contact are valuable. But the peripheral learning is priceless. While circulating, leaders should not use their movements to micromanage. The most successful presidents will be those who can attract competent people, delegate to them, support their efforts, and retain them. Team building and the development of ethical standards and trust are critical leadership skills.

The pathways to the presidency will be better paved for those who are responsive to change and sensitive to the culture of the institutions they join. We live in an age of change, and many of our institutions are going to experience massive changes and restructuring. But a consensus will have to be built to both support and direct these developments. A president who calls for change should heed the fact that many excellent staff have personal investments in past practices and achievements. Effective change should not invalidate these past practices. Wherever possible, new directions should use past practice as the springboard. This will enable staff to "buy in" and, ideally, develop "ownership" of the new directions. This approach may seem to slow down the change, but it can also make change more orderly. The time taken to analyze what has worked and to develop a consensus for change can help avert the "ready, fire, aim" syndrome that appears if change is pursued for its own sake.

Effective presidents in the future will be those who create a bridge between their institutions and communities. A president who is firmly grounded within the college and sensitive to external community concerns and expectations will be better able to articulate the college's mission and to work with the board of trustees to fine-tune it.

Finally, an effective president will be one who can rise above the stress that is inherent in the job. The sixty-hour weeks will not change. Nor will the conflicting demands from the full range of constituencies ever lessen. In the public arena, legislatures, city councils, and other funding entities will continue contradictory demands that more be done with fewer resources. Communities will continue to confuse "training" for a job with "education" for a career. Presidents will continue to be pulled in all of these conflicting directions. Working through the stress will require presidents to separate their egos from the institutions's identity. One must recognize that the institution will, one day, go forward without them. Thus, effective presidents will build continuously toward that day. As the tenure of presidents grows shorter, less than five years in most recent surveys, it becomes evident that the president must be a catalyst more than a doer. To maintain this distance and perspective, presidents must delegate responsibilities and seek balance in their own lives. The balance sought should segment their lives to assure attention to family, professional growth, the need for relaxation, and a range of activities beyond the office.

Self-perpetuation is not an appropriate presidential objective. As the president begins to match his or her talents with college needs, specific objectives and timetables can be developed. As these are reached, a president can evaluate tenure and short-term career plans. The most effective presidents are those who opt to move on after having served well but before they cease to lead. The presidency will continue to offer tremendous opportunities for service. If these trusts are undertaken with humility, they can be challenging but rewarding. The president who never loses sight of the temporary nature of the assignment will work most effectively and cordially with the board of trustees. After all, the board, as an institution, and the faculty represent the only fixed pillars in a college. The president should never lose sight of this fact.

To be successful, presidents must come to terms with diversity. Student populations are becoming more complex and will become even more so as we approach the turn of the century. One college I served in California did not have an ethnic, racial, or cultural group that contained as much as half the total student population. With significant representation from many ethnic groups, virtually all were "minorities" in one fashion or another. This population mix will become more common in the years ahead. As our nation's housing patterns remain relatively segregated, the campus becomes one of the few settings in which large numbers of people who are relatively unfamiliar with one another meet for a common purpose.

To bridge these gaps, campuses will need expertise in adjudicating differences and antagonisms between minority groups in settings where there may be no majority. In this environment, the president must articulate a vision of diversity that trustees can share and that wins consensus among faculty, staff, and students. The community as well must be brought into the dialogue on diversity if they are to value and support the college as it evolves. Ultimately, however, diversity must be defined as an educational issue by the president. Students must be educated to excel in a diverse world. Thus, the environment in which they are educated should reflect this.

It cannot be assumed that trustees will generally support pluralism and the tone that diversity brings to an institution. Trustees can be either elected or appointed by some elected executive authority, depending on the state. In either case, trustees can emerge who represent narrow interests and even political parties. These political, ideological, or social interests can bring an agenda into play that may have very little to do with education. Thus, trustees can come to a board from constituencies that oppose pluralism.

Presidents must build consensus. Thus, there should be some sense of where each trustee stands on all major issues, including diversity. In sharing his or her vision of diversity, the president must address this matter as an educational rather than as a social or political issue. The humanities must explore many cultures, noting similarities and differences. In the social and behavioral sciences, the need for inclusion of all groups and cultures should be explored as a way of addressing student needs. In staffing, the president must build broad support for faculty and staff who reflect the communities served and who can bring diversity and cross-cultural skills to the classroom. If issues of diversity are depoliticized, the president stands a better chance of building a majority consensus in the board of trustees. Every interest group can be served well by a diverse institution. The president must define these gains for trustees.

College faculties are generally supportive of diversity. But the president should build upon this support to enable faculty to assure that curriculum and the institutional style reflect pluralism. Race is irrelevant in a diverse environment and becomes an issue primarily in racially imbalanced settings. Thus we face a contradiction. It is necessary to be racially conscious and sensitive in order to create a diverse campus that can be color blind.

Students represent yet another challenge to achieving diversity. A diverse campus will attract many groups who may be unfamiliar with one another. Just as minority students may be inclined to cluster together in a racially imbalanced setting in which they are isolated, there can be a similar reaction to a proliferation of diverse but unfamiliar groups. To address this problem, campus personnel must be astute in identifying common ground, common interests, and activities that are shared. Barriers can only be broken down through identification of common ground, shared concerns, and mutual goals. The institution fails if groups share campus space without dialogue. In those instances, a critical asset for learning is lost.

Minority presidents must create an open, nurturing environment if they wish to develop the next generation of leadership. First, they should encourage young faculty to become involved in campus, student, and curricular issues. Leadership roles at the threshold level such as program coordination and departmental vice-chairs should be used to enable young faculty to test both their interest and aptitude for administrative detail. When the president has the opportunity to fill acting positions on a temporary basis, serious consideration should be given to offering young faculty the opportunity. To create a readiness for this opportunity, presidents should always review national and state issues when addressing the convened faculty. This strategy creates a context for the problems and opportunities a college might face. A nurturing environment that seeks personal growth is tolerant of error. Young faculty, exploring leadership roles, should not face censure for minor missteps. These should be used for mentoring.

Externally, the president must generate both confidence in the institution and a sense of excellence. Efforts to educate rather than train people might seem circuitous to the layperson, but the president must convince a broad range of constituents that education prepares for careers, while training might place people in jobs without mobility. These concerns are especially critical in minority communities, where students face pressure to get jobs with stable incomes quickly. The president is a critical educational leader in justifying the structure and requirements of college programs. However, the president must bring a richer message to minority communities. Education for employment is too narrow a rationale. It must be stressed that education prepares people for life, for participation in a democracy, and for competition in the social, economic, cultural, and political mainstream of this society. Education alone can dispel disillusionment and isolation. Education must be seen as synonymous with hope.

The position of president, then, is one with sweeping potential for influence. The president speaks for an institution rather than any component, and he or she can address the need for substance, excellence, and quality in a fashion that cannot be paralleled. The president, in short, is both an advocate for the institution and a protector of the interests of the public. The strong, moral and ethical platform from which a president can speak must be preserved. If this credibility is lost, the resulting damage to the institution is difficult to repair. In minority communities, the role of president assures broad respect and credibility and instant access to community leaders. Presidents must assure that their relations with staff, handling of public funds, and behavior in public do nothing to diminish the office. Where executive authority is diminished, moral authority makes the role viable. If the aura surrounding the office of the president is damaged, the president's role can become untenable and devoid of influence.

The president can play a vital role in minority communities as a role model, leader, and spokesperson for accepted, basic values. As resources are denied to colleges, minority communities become more insular and isolated from majority communities. But minority communities find themselves all the more often competing among themselves for control of urban institutions. It is the president who must articulate openness to and acceptance of competing groups in this sometimes volatile context. Diversity is often seen as the acceptance of minorities in heretofore majority colleges. But presidents will more often provide linkages among Hispanic, African American, Caribbean, and Asian populations as urban demographics shift.

Community colleges are vital assets to minority communities. But as segregation continues to increase the polarization of our society, institutions can become identified as "black colleges" or "Hispanic colleges." But demography changes. And it is the president who must provide leadership to assure openness to new populations. Public institutions will change to reflect demographic shifts. Thus, heretofore black institutions such as Compton College in California or Roxbury Community College in Massachusetts will accommodate Latinos and Russian Jews today, and perhaps other groups in the next century. These transitions do not come without rancor in our society.

So it is the president who must articulate the full meaning of diversity and provide bridges to enable the college to address its mission. In settings that may at times seethe with racial hatred, the president must have the courage to stress the unique reality of the United States. Someone must remind all concerned that this is a nation of immigrants and, as such, an idealistic cultural, spiritual, and political experiment. Education must be used to create bridges rather than to separate, and to ameliorate differences to create an enriched whole society.

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Less than twenty years ago, there was one community college president from the Asian Pacific American community. Now there is optimism that several community college presidents will emerge from the fastest growing population in the United States.

The Community College Presidency: An Asian Pacific American Perspective

M. Jack Fujimoto

Some Reflections

As a result of World War II, changed immigration laws in the United States, and increased opportunities for persons of Asian Pacific ancestry, the U.S. landscape shows an Asian Pacific American (APA) population scattered throughout the country. Even when I studied at the University of Arkansas in the mid 1960s, my family had the good fortune to find a Chinese gourmet meal being served in the Ozarks by a Chinese family. Now we travel throughout the United States and find a Yokohama-style restaurant in northern New Hampshire, a sushi bar in Biloxi, Mississippi, as well as a small Chinese fast food outlet in Havre, Montana.

With the APA population scattered throughout the United States, is there a critical mass of APA chief executives and administrators in the more than 1,000 community colleges in the country? If there is, it is in the states of the Pacific Basin, namely, Hawaii, Washington, Oregon, and California, in which there are more than 125 community colleges, including 107 in California. For example, there are currently more than a dozen chief executive officers of community colleges of Asian Pacific ancestry in these states. How this number compares with the chief executive representation of other recognized minority groups is not the concern of this chapter. We are interested in whether strategies are being employed or can be developed to promote chief executives from APA communities throughout the United States.

National Academic Pipeline

The APA has a high achievement level in academic work. Some evidence from the student pipeline is as follows:

- Among identified racial and ethnic groupings, APA average scores on the ACT assessment instrument are the highest (*Chronicle of Higher Education: Almanac Issue*, 1995, p. 12).
- When we track the educational attainment of 1980 high school sophomores in 1992, there is evidence that APA attainment in higher education academic and professional degrees is higher than average (*Chronicle of Higher Education: Almanac Issue*, 1995, p. 12).

College enrollment data show that the number of APA students is increasing significantly. Overall college enrollment has increased 16 percent during the past decade (1984–1993), 12,295,000 to 14,306,000, while the APA student enrollment jumped 86 percent from 390,000 to 724,000, and foreign student enrollment increased 36 percent from 335,000 to 457,000 (*Chronicle of Higher Education: Almanac Issue*, 1995, pp. 14–18). This latter statistic is important inasmuch as 40 percent of that foreign student population is from Asian countries. When the APA and Asian foreign student numbers are combined, they approximate one million students enrolled in higher educational institutions in the United States; therefore, it appears from a student pipeline perspective that there are significant numbers of Asian Pacific students from which can emerge the future chief executives of community colleges in the United States.

Graduate school enrollment studies reveal that APA students show higher than average graduation rates at the master's, doctoral, and professional degree levels. An analysis of the doctorates of 1993 shows that only 4 percent of the doctorates issued were to APA students, most of whom were concentrated in the nonscience and nonengineering categories; however, it is interesting to note that one-third of those doctorates were issued to noncitizens of the United States. Also of interest is the fact that less than one-half of the doctorates were issued to graduates who planned careers in academic institutions and who concentrated in the nonscience and nonengineering categories. Furthermore, the data showed that 75 percent of doctoral graduates in this group preferred teaching to a career in academic administration (*Chronicle of Higher Education: Almanac Issue*, 1995, p. 18).

Analysis of full-time employees in academic institutions in 1991–92 shows the following:

APAs in faculty positions: 5 percent (26,545 of 520,557)
APAs in executive positions: 1.5 percent (2,163 of 136,908)
APAs in professional positions: 5 percent (19,276 of 359,322)

The APA faculty and professional pipelines are substantial compared to the numbers of APAs in executive positions; however, when these data are coupled with a study showing that a majority of college presidents come from tenured academic backgrounds, moving into a chief executive's position is most likely to occur for those located among faculty ranks (*Chronicle of Higher Education: Almanac Issue*, 1995, pp. 18–24).

The Status of Asian Pacific Americans and the Glass Ceiling

In 1977 the glass ceiling for community college presidents was pierced when I was named the first Asian Pacific American to the presidency of Sacramento City College in the capital city of California. It was at a time when affirmative action resulted in a competition between gender and race, a woman and an APA. Immediately thereafter, several university presidents, such as the late S. I. Hayakawa, cracked the glass ceiling. More recently, several university presidents as well as community college chief executives have been of Asian ancestry; some of these people were born or educated in Asian countries, which raises a phenomenon that needs further study in the development of strategies to nurture future APA chief executives in the higher education pipeline.

The 1990 Census showed that 3 percent of U.S. residents are of Asian Pacific ancestry, a figure that is expected to double within the next twenty years, making them the fastest growing ethnic group in the United States. Of this current population of Asian Pacific Islanders, 64 percent are foreign born, of which more than 50 percent have less than ten years residence in the United States (The LEAP, 1994, p. 3). When this sizable population of Chinese, Filipino, Korean, Indian, Southeast Asian, and others are analyzed further, it is soon evident that the ethnic and cultural diversities that have been introduced into the United States need to be considered in studies of upward mobility or, for that matter, in the development of any political, social, economic, and educational policies. Even the language differences brought by the Chinese from the Peoples' Republic, Taiwan, and Southeast Asia, as well as Indonesia, raises the possibility that the APA as the "model minority" is a myth.

The immigration laws in 1965 resulted in a large influx of Asian immigrants who added considerable diversity along ethnic and cultural, as well as religious and economic, lines and who have yet to be fully absorbed into U.S. society. These factors, once again, explode the myth that the APA is a "model minority." Despite the long history of racial discrimination, APAs cling to the values, expectations, and institutions of their ancestral homeland, which defined success as hard work, adherence to traditional values, and maintenance of family rather than relying on government and public handouts (LEAP, 1993, p. 4).

Schwarz (1995) argues that, in the United States, diversity as it is exported to the world is a myth because it is no more than an extension of the Anglo-Puritan ethic. This mythical diversity is also the basis from which Henry Chauncey launched his Educational Testing Service (Lemann, 1995a, b). Both articles tend to reinforce the exclusion of the APA as a "minority," thereby losing the benefits accorded as a result of being labeled a "minority."

Hong and Hee (LEAP, 1994) provide further evidence of the "model minority" myth. On the one hand, the fact that the first wave of post-1965 immigrants from Asia attracted some of the most highly educated and economically mobile people from Asia basically changed the structure of opportunities in the United States. This migration had immediate impact as witnessed by the recent high educational achievements by APA students, the increasing flow of APAs to higher education, the surge of professionals in the sciences and engineering, as well as modeling immigrant values of the highly educated. It has been said that this population's migration from the Asian countries was a "brain drain" on those nations' technological talent.

On the other hand, APAs were exposed to the discrepancies in earnings and occupational standings due to three factors, namely, limited English-speaking ability, lack of transferability of skills directly to the U.S. labor market, and racial as well as cultural differences resulting in disparate treatment (LEAP, 1994, p. 41). Despite their educational attainments, APAs felt a lower status, held lower salary positions, and were directed to technical positions. Among the Fortune 500 publicly held corporations in the United States, only 0.4 percent had seats held by APAs on their boards of directors (LEAP, 1994, pp. 42–52).

The glass ceiling became an intense area of study inasmuch as it was a major barrier to upward mobility not only among APAs but also among other minorities, women's groups, and immigrants. The U.S. Department of Labor's Federal Glass Ceiling Commission Report of March 1995 discusses more fully the stereotypes of the Asian Pacific peoples and APAs as viewed by corporate chief executives as well as by members of the Asian Pacific and APA communities. As the report debunks the "model minority" as myth, it also notes that significant differences within APA communities relate to birthplace, the time and circumstances under which they live in the United States, the educational attainment of the native APAs as well as the immigrant Asian Pacifics, their economic status, and the roles that they portray.

Through interviews of corporate chief executives as well as members of the APA communities, the commission was able to develop a series of perceived and real barriers to promoting APAs beyond the glass ceiling. More important, however, is the summary of interviews that clearly indicates that APAs see a glass ceiling not observed or even perceived by corporate executives.

Of significance is a statement that corporate chief executives do not perceive APA employees having any problem because they assimilate economically and socially with ease (Federal Glass Ceiling Commission, 1995). On the other hand, APAs perceive that the glass ceiling exists because their superior educational achievements and high performances are not translated into access to senior decision-making positions.

The perceptions of U.S. corporate executives regarding stereotypes of Asian Pacific peoples, along with the bias and prejudice that deny corporate promotions, are quite revealing. Among the positive racial stereotypes of APAs in the report are the following: intelligent, hard working, highly educated, occupationally successful, patient, polite, nonconfrontational, nonviolent, law-abiding, politically passive, culturally resourceful, detail oriented, and good at science as well as engineering. However, among stereotypes that deflect APAs from leadership positions are the following: passive, unassertive, indirect, more equipped for technical than people-oriented work, and not leadership material. For APA women, additional stereotypes are attributed to U.S. corporate executives, such as the following: content with status quo, inflexible, lack of interpersonal skills and political savvy, obedient and motherly, as well as exotic and fragile. On the other hand, the Glass Ceiling Report recognizes that the corporate United States has many APA managers within its ranks, although APAs are seriously underrepresented and are paid less for comparable work, even with their high academic achievement levels.

According to the Federal Glass Ceiling Commission Report (1995), the major barriers faced by APAs in the United States include the widespread acceptance of popular stereotypes, such as APAs are not affected by the glass ceiling, APAs make superior professionals and technicians, and APAs are not suited for management leadership. Additional barriers faced by APAs in the United States include a sense of benign neglect and ignorance of the complexity, needs, and difficulties among APA groups; the lack of data to track the diverse APA groups; and the lack of a better understanding by other U.S. citizens about the APA experience (Federal Glass Ceiling Commission, 1995, p. 115).

The United States Commission on Civil Rights issued a 1992 report that made several recommendations to the federal government. Recommendation Number 20 stated that a glass ceiling monitoring and enforcement effort should include Asian Americans as well as women and other minorities. This report also requested in Recommendation Number 39 that the media make every effort to provide balanced, in-depth, and sensitive coverage of APAs and to improve the representation of APAs in their decision-making ranks.

The absence of APA chief executives in the corporate United States parallels a similar paucity of APA community college presidents. Only in California is there a modest concentration of chief executives of Asian ancestry. Seven of 107 such positions is less than a critical mass, but this figure suggests a starting point to develop an agenda designed to improve the process of elevating more APAs to chief executive positions in the nation's community colleges.

The California Experience

In contrast to 3 percent of the U.S. population being of Asian ancestry, approximately 11 percent of California's 31,430,000 people are Asian Pacific Islanders (1990 Census).

The large immigrant population in more recent years partially explains the use of their "native tongue" in one-third of their homes. Eleven percent, or more than 1,300,000 APAs between the ages of eighteen to sixty-four years, are linguistically isolated from the English language that, if strategically linked to an educational policy, lends itself to a massive English-as-second-language movement (Cepeda, 1995).

The higher education student pipeline shows 16 percent of the 1,836,347 students in 1993–94 to be of Asian Pacific ancestry. The APA student persistence rate in California is 70 percent in the community colleges, which is higher than the average for all ethnic categories. Also, the success rate as measured by those having a C or better grade showed the APAs with an 88 percent rate, which is slightly above the 85 percent average in community colleges. Community colleges in California are a major higher education transition for Asian Pacific students, for they make up 18 percent of those transferring to the public university system (Cepeda, 1995). Data do not differentiate between Asian Pacific American residents and foreign-born Asian Pacific students. The data above indicate that Asian Pacific students are going to California's higher educational institutions in sizable numbers and experiencing success.

In 1990 the occupational pipeline for California's population over seventeen years of age showed that Asian Pacific individuals occupied 17 percent of the professional and technical jobs and 15 percent of the managerial and administrative positions, as compared to Latinos occupying 14 percent and 12 percent, respectively; Anglos, 21 percent and 7 percent; and African Americans, 18 percent and 9 percent (Cepeda, 1995). It was not possible to obtain data on the breakdown of the 15 percent of Asian Pacifics in managerial and administrative positions into those serving in higher educational institutions. Based on personal observation, a significant number of Asian Pacifics are in principalships and supervisory staff positions in the primary and secondary school systems in California—a potential pool of executive talent that community colleges might wish to recruit.

Analysis of the Current Chief Executive Officers in California's Community Colleges

Currently seven chief executives from an Asian Pacific background lead community colleges in California. Table 5.1 gives an analysis of these seven cases.

Interviews conducted with these CEOs reveal that Cases 1 and 4 have pursued academic careers in the community college system for more than twenty years, at times teaching and at other times combining teaching with administrative assignments. Case 1 also has had extensive engineering work experience in industry. Some, such as Cases 5 and 7, have made a successful transition from administrative positions in the senior California State University system to community college chief executive positions. (The reverse, however, has not happened.) In Cases 5 and 7, the persons were born in foreign countries, China and Southeast Asia.

As finances become squeezed in operating community colleges, the talents reflected in Case 2, who has broad background in skillfully raising revenues and reducing expenditures, as well as considerable business operations acumen, will become more desirable. However, the national tendency is to hire

Table 5.1. California's Chief Executive Officers

	Birth	*Background*	*Other*
Case 1	Mainland born	instructional academic	industry experience
Case 2	Hawaii born	business administrative	
Case 3	Hawaii born	academic	entrepreneurship
Case 4	Mainland born	instructional academic	
Case 5	Foreign born	professional staff	university transfer
Case 6	Foreign born		consultant
Case 7	Foreign born	academic	university transfer

chief executives who are tenured. Thus, Case 2 might become a high-salaried professional instead.

More likely, Case 3 represents an APA's future, one in which transitions are made between the world of academe and entrepreneurship. As in the corporate United States, those APAs who have found the glass ceiling to be a major barrier have established their own corporations, and after a successful track record have been appointed to boards of trustees for public universities and colleges. As in Case 3, skills of entrepreneurship provide excellent tools that are useful to chief executives of community colleges.

Strategies for Accessing the Pipeline to Community College Chief Executive Positions

Strategies to encourage current students, faculty, and staff of community colleges to aspire to become college administrators need to be developed. This encouragement is especially necessary in the current California political, economic, social, and educational environment, where an anti-immigrant view was expressed through passage of Proposition 187 in November 1994. If implemented through the court system, that proposition has far-reaching implications for education. Currently, opposition to affirmative action has become newsworthy, with many conceding its passage as a peoples' initiative in November 1996. The July 1995 decision by the Board of Regents of the University of California to eliminate affirmative action has already heated the debate.

These two issues affect Asian Pacific students as well as job opportunities. With the easing of gender and racial preferences, one scenario calls for more Asian Pacific students to be admitted to the University of California, while at the same time tightening rules for foreign student admissions. The upshot could result in no change in college enrollment numbers. An increase in the debate on college admissions standards, however, could easily have an impact on Asian Pacific hiring within higher education. Even though California's planning agencies, such as the California Postsecondary Education Commission

(1995), the Office of the Chancellor, California Community Colleges (1995), and the Community College League of California (1993), all project growth in student enrollments, the change in political climate or financial resources can easily alter the planning process as well as any projected outcomes.

Strategy Suggestions

We need strategies to guarantee a critical mass of like-minded Asian Pacific community leaders, educational chief executives, and students interested in higher education.

Encourage organizational capacity building. APA faculty should be encouraged to participate in leadership roles in their local academic senates and unions. In addition, indirect faculty assignments in affirmative action, staff development, grantsmanship, and shared governance can do much to expand the working horizons of the APA in community colleges.

Provide leadership opportunities through professional development. We need to involve faculty and students in planning the activities of such California statewide organizations as Asian Pacific Americans in Higher Education (APAHE), such local community college organizations as Asian Pacific Association of Los Angeles Community Colleges (APA-LACC), and such national organizations as the Asian Pacific American Caucuses for the American Association of Higher Education (AAHE) and American Association of Community Colleges (AACC).

In addition, such organizations as Leadership Education for Asian Pacifics (LEAP) should be encouraged to expand their Leadership Management Institute and Leadership Development Program to the higher education arena with its specific curriculum and staffing.

Work with private corporations to fund innovative projects. Linkages should be established with private corporations in the United States, through its numerous foundations, to request funding for innovative projects that accelerate the APA agenda. This policy may require a cultural shift in thought and attitude that changes the "no government help" and "no public handout" mentality to an aggressive approach for the "corporate handout." What has been the norm for U.S. administrators may be more difficult for the APA professional or chief executive with strong traditional cultural ties.

A series of workshops would be beneficial because, in the process of developing strategies and strategic statements, a plan having cohesion and empowerment can evolve.

Develop a mentoring academy to break the glass ceiling. Based on the perceptions expressed by the chief executives of U.S. private corporations, an academy of mentors (APA as well as non-APA) could help immensely in breaking barriers imposed through stereotypes.

Establish a clearinghouse for APA leadership development activities. Communication is crucial in order to attract those interested in higher education leadership positions. Today many significant APA-focused activities are dispersed and poorly advertised, and many interested people are unaware of them, as I have witnessed in my meetings with other APA chief executives.

Communication with other ethnic and gender leadership development groups is essential. A clearinghouse would serve to collect and disseminate such information, which becomes more valuable as the APA population continues to grow and becomes a part of a nationwide APA network.

Future for Asian Pacific Chief Executives in Community Colleges

Though the number of chief executives in community colleges has increased significantly during the past twenty years, there is no critical mass among the more than 1,000 community colleges in the United States. For this to happen, regardless of the political, economic, social, and educational climate in existence, APAs aspiring to positions above the glass ceiling need organization, cohesion, information, and a process that draws a like-minded group of APAs together to push an agenda of qualified leaders.

In the next twenty years, the APA population in the United States is projected to double in numbers. More APAs will be scattered throughout the United States rather than concentrated in a few large communities, and the educational attainment of significant numbers of APAs will increase. APA leadership is badly needed and so is an organized pipeline to qualify future leaders.

The Asian Pacific American population has had fewer years to organize and become educational leaders; therefore, APAs should look to the experiences of those who have gained considerable leadership experience and enter into mentor-intern relationships.

Given time and more opportunities to gain executive experience, Asian Pacific Americans have a promising future in serving as chief executive officers for community colleges, not just in positions concentrated in California or even in Hawaii but throughout the United States.

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The nation's urban community colleges offer models for achieving administrative diversity; in the urban arena, considerations of gender, race, and ethnic background are positive factors for individuals seeking administrative positions.

Gateways to Success: Urban Community Colleges and Administrative Diversity

Gilbert H. Muller

From New York City to Seattle, urban community colleges play a vital role in the educational, social, economic, and political fabric of the nation's metropolitan areas. As Robert McCabe, past president of Miami-Dade Community College, observes, "The mission of an urban community college is to improve the quality of life for the community" (Phillip, 1993, p. 2). Even as urban community colleges attempt to empower the typically disenfranchised or underserved members of their communities, they also strive to reflect in their faculties and administrations the demographic diversity of their student constituencies. Urban community colleges serve as beacons of hope in their efforts to promote opportunities for minority students, faculty, and administrators, all of whom in varying ways are "at-risk" populations.

Despite fiscal and political assaults on the nation's cities in the 1990s, urban community colleges remain gateways to success for their diverse and mostly minority populations as well as pathways of mobility for minority educators. As such, urban institutions reflect a more conscious attempt to nurture minority talent than national patterns of community college faculty and administration selection, which tend, in the words of Hawthorne, to be "sporadic, ad hoc, and loosely tied to the needs of the institutions and their students" (1993, p. 407). Whereas less than 10 percent of all community college faculty and administrators nationally are people of color (Astin, Korn, and Dey, 1991), minority representation in both categories tends to be dramatically higher at institutions centrally located in urban settings. For example, at Hostos Community College, a campus of the City University of New York (CUNY), 1994 affirmative action data compiled by CUNY's central office indicate that 34.8 percent of the faculty is white, 16.8 percent black, 15.5 percent Hispanic, 23.9 percent Puerto Rican, 6.5 percent Asian/Pacific Islander, and 2.6 percent Italian American (the last a protected category within CUNY) (Affirmative Action Summary Data by College, Sex, and Ethnicity, 1995). By contrast, a 1992 research report designed by Carty and Ottinger for the American Council on Education indicates that 93 percent of all male and 89 percent of all female full-time community college faculty were white. Although the data from Hostos reflect the most striking diversity within CUNY, it is representative of the faculty balance at similar two-year institutions within the system, including LaGuardia, Kingsborough, and Borough of Manhattan. Within any urban community college arena, there is a cohort of minority faculty who can be recruited for administrative roles. Indeed, the single most effective strategy for building administrative diversity is to develop a pool of multiracial faculty candidates. At Hostos, 50 percent of the college's executive officers, deans, and administrators are from minority groups, with many of them drawn from Hostos faculty ranks.

Nor should the role of minority students be neglected in the diversity equation, for they are crucial long-term players in the administrative pipeline process. Students of color at urban community colleges are more likely to encounter faculty, staff, and administrators who mirror their diversity than at any other sector within higher education in the United States. In the words of Cohen and Brawer: "More so than in the universities, the community college student population tends to reflect the ethnic composition of the institution's locale. Community colleges in cities with high populations of minorities—Chicago, Cleveland, El Paso, Los Angeles, Miami, New York, Phoenix—enroll sizable numbers of minority students. The evidence of neighborhood attendance is revealed where the community college has several campuses in the same city. At East Los Angeles College in the mid 1980s, 65 percent of the students were Hispanic; at Los Angeles Southwest College, 87 percent were black; and at Los Angeles Pierce College, 75 percent were white" (1989, p. 43). The multicultural ambiance of urban two-year institutions offers the ideal campus climate to awaken students to careers in higher education, thereby promoting over the long term the emergence of a class of minority professionals for the future. As Cox suggests, "If we do not keep minority students in the education pipeline and ensure that they move steadily from one benchmark of success to the next, we will continue to have an inadequately diverse pool of professionals" (1993, p. 96). Instead of assuming that racial disparities are intractable, the most successful urban community colleges tackle the "pipeline problem" by nurturing both the students and the faculty who ultimately will become the gatekeepers—the presidents, the deans, and other administrators—in the twenty-first century.

Access and the Urban Community College

At a time when educational and political commitment to public higher education access is uncertain, urban community colleges serve as bulwarks against policies and "master plans" that would deny underserved populations educational opportunities. In Eaton's words, "The nation's commitment to access is neither official nor clear nor permanent" (1994, p. 167). Any serious discussion of higher education's social responsibilities must acknowledge that urban two-year institutions—and almost every major city in the United States has at least one community college—provide access, affordability, and opportunity for a heavily minority student constituency. Moreover, from El Paso Community College with its Business and Industry Center offering economic development opportunities to Los Angeles Southwest College with its collaborative efforts to work with the schools in Watts to promote minority access, retention, and transfer, urban two-year colleges offer customized programs that both nurture the community and are sustained by it.

Even though there are two quite opposing viewpoints on whether community colleges provide pathways to mobility and success for students or, in Zwerling's words, "a deliberate process of channeling students to positions in the social order that are deemed appropriate for them" (1976, p. 35), it seems clear that minority students as well as minority faculty and administrators gravitate to urban community colleges for a variety of reasons. First, the demographic reality is that minority educators populate urban areas in substantial numbers. So-called minorities now enjoy majority status in most of the nation's major metropolitan areas, and urban settings provide a pool of minority professionals for community college recruitment. Moreover, urban community colleges tend to have executive leadership groups—boards of trustees, chancellors and vice-chancellors, presidents and deans—committed to recruiting diverse faculty and staff. In this connection, such networking groups as the Presidents' Roundtable, a coalition of African American two-year college presidents, an affiliate of the National Council on Black American Affairs sponsored by the American Association of Community Colleges (AACC), focus their support on advancing administrative opportunities for black candidates aspiring to senior executive positions. The Presidents' Roundtable conducts workshops, writes supporting letters, and utilizes its powerful network to place candidates in urban presidencies. Finally, those minority members who are recruited for faculty and administrative roles have much in common with the women, minorities, and immigrants who compose their student populations. As future leaders, their moral vision and ability to relate to their communities make them ideal candidates for leadership positions.

If we can accept the admittedly stipulative definition of an urban community college as an institution serving ethnically diverse populations and recruiting an especially diverse faculty, staff, and administration, then we are looking at perhaps 150 *pure* metropolitan community colleges in the nation, although another 150 would consider themselves "urban" in nature. Hostos Community College would qualify within this "pure" definition, whereas Los Angeles Pierce, clearly serving white middle-class populations, as does Queensborough Community College, which is part of CUNY, would not. Such quasi-urban institutions as Queensborough, LA Pierce, or even several of the campuses of Miami-Dade, excluding those downtown, possess neither the student nor administrative diversity associated with the purely urban community college. For example, the full-time faculty breakdown at Queensborough Community College is 73.7 percent white, 4.4 percent black, 2.7 percent Hispanic, 0.3 percent Puerto Rican, 3.4 percent Asian/Pacific Islander, 15.2 percent Italian American, and 0.3 percent Native American. Similarly, only one minority administrator serves Queensborough's executive team. Both statistics, especially when matched against the affirmative action profile of Hostos Community College, suggest that within large urban systems, discrete distinctions have to be established when determining which type of institutional environment is most conducive to both faculty and administrative diversity.

In the context of improving administrative diversity, it is important to distinguish these inner-city community colleges from their quasi-urban or exurban counterparts that exist frequently within the same system. The distinguishing feature of urban community college systems is that they do function as pathways to success and advancement for ethnic and racial groups. They are not merely "community colleges in urban settings" but rather institutions, often set in inner-city areas, where a unique demographic synergy works to bring a relatively poor and disenfranchised population into an educational setting where faculty and administrators are intimately engaged in facing the challenges of urban poverty, racial issues, and a host of other problems through their academic programs and community service roles. Within such a context, race, gender, and ethnic background are positive factors for aspiring community college administrators. With their relatively flexible and racially diverse international culture, the purely urban community colleges can prepare the next generation of minority educators for leadership roles.

Perhaps the single most crucial factor in the complex issue of enhancing the pool of minority administrators is the importance of the institution's mission as a spur to administrative diversity. If, as Flora Mancuso Edwards asserts, "The urban community college is the vehicle of a franchisement for many people" (Phillip, 1993, p. 8), then this institutional mission must extend "access" to minority administrators as well. Mancuso Edwards, a noted Latina educator who ultimately assumed two college presidencies before turning to a career in law, offers a case study of institutional mobility within an urban educational setting whose mission and values encouraged the nurturing of minority faculty talent. She started as an assistant professor and coordinator of Spanish at LaGuardia Community College in the early 1970s, completed her Ph.D. at New York University, and then moved into a deanship at LaGuardia College, after which she was offered the presidency of Hostos Community College. Subsequently, Mancuso Edwards became a national spokesperson for the mission of urban community colleges *and* minority leadership roles. Although she readily acknowledges "the disparity between the decision-makers and the students" (Phillip, 1993, p. 10) that currently affects funding for urban education, Mancuso Edwards offers in her own career a template for minority administrative success in an urban setting.

Urban Mission

Minority educators like Mancuso Edwards benefit from an urban community college's mission as it is reflected in what Vaughan (1989) terms its institutional culture—its history, traditions, values, commitment to diversity, and support for affirmative action. Although an urban community college's governance system might vary from setting to setting, an informed leadership often creates the conditions whereby a pluralistic mission can be carefully articulated and reflected at the administrative level. Even when urban two-year systems make what a former vice-chancellor for the Seattle system, Julie Hungar (November 8, 1995, interview), terms a "slogging commitment" to administrative diversity, a leadership vision growing from an urban institution's mission statement can serve as the foundation for a broadened commitment to hiring minority leaders at both the senior executive and midlevel administrative ranks. For example, the mission statement of the Seattle Community College District (SCCD) expresses a commitment to diversity at its three two-year campuses and the Seattle Vocational Institute that make up its system. Representative of each campus's commitment to diversity is Seattle Central Community College, which announces in its mission statement the key objective of promoting "educational excellence in a multicultural urban environment. We ensure opportunities for academic achievement, workplace preparation and service to the community by creating a learning environment which is accessible, diverse, responsive, and innovative" (Seattle Community College District, 1995). Embedded in such a mission statement is an implied commitment to administrative diversity, and indeed the central campus's most recent presidents have been Hispanic and African American. Moreover, at the current time the presidents of South Seattle Community College and North Seattle Community College are Asian American and African American. And at the level of the board of trustees is an African American, an Asian American, a Latin American, and a white. The board of trustees, which hires and fires chancellors and presidents, is ultimately responsible for the educational and social climate of a campus. Of course, fractious behavior within boards and between these boards and a campus president can occur and often does. But when both the board of trustees and a chancellor or president pursue a common diversity agenda and are willing to serve as agents of change, as is the case at the Seattle Community College System, their supportive policies on personnel will facilitate the task of enhancing the pool of minority administrators.

Within a pluralistic environment like the one in Seattle, the central social and educational mission of serving the community can be reflected in a commitment to administrative diversity. It is no coincidence that the chancellor of the Seattle Community College System, Charles A. Kane, upon assuming the office, initiated an executive leadership training institute that brings administrators from all campuses together for professional development, which has had the unintended consequence of advancing the careers of minority administrators. The data in Table 6.1 for June 1995 suggest the progress that community college leaders in Seattle, which has become as diverse a city as many other older metropolitan centers in the United States, have made in hiring and promoting minority candidates to management and executive ranks.

Chancellor Kane also appointed Nobumichi Hara as director of human resources, responsible for Seattle Community College District's affirmative action program, and issued a strong affirmative action policy statement that reads in part: "SCCD, in an effort to eliminate barriers to equal employment opportunity, is committed to take affirmative action to correct underutilization of American Indians/Alaskan Natives, Asians/Pacific Islanders, Blacks, Hispanics, Women, persons age 40 and over, persons with disabilities, disabled veterans and Vietnam era veterans."

All campuses have affirmative action statements, but when a chancellor through words and deeds declares that the governing ethos of his or her campus will involve a coordinated effort toward "achievement of our goals in equal opportunity and affirmative action," an environment supportive of minority administrative recruitment can be created. "The president or chancellor becomes the symbol that helps others translate the moral principle into workable programs" (Morrison, 1994, p. 91). Such leaders serve as forces for transformation and change (see Roueche, Baker, and Rose, 1989, p. 11), moving the urban community college or system toward a "shared" vision of administrative and managerial diversity that, in turn, is reflected throughout all constituencies at the institution.

Recruiting Minority Administrators

Cities in the United States are hospitable environments for minority administrators. Serving as career magnets for individuals familiar with the diverse urban cultures, central city community colleges often reflect a visible minority presence despite the narrow pool of available minority faculty and administrative talent nationwide. Inclined in the first place to recruit a diverse faculty and administration, they provide the structure whereby full achievement of leadership diversity is possible.

Leadership diversity, however, does not occur through serendipity but rather through *sustained* commitment to enhanced minority administration and incremental rather than spectacular gains. As de los Santos (1994) suggests in his survey of recruitment strategies within the Maricopa Community College system in Phoenix, only a coordinated effort and multiple initiatives involving the board of trustees, executive leaders, and midmanagement chairs can create a climate conducive to the development and recruitment of minority

Table 6.1. Seattle Community College District VI

Workforce Profile No. 1

Affirmative Action Group		Employees			Total Minority	Male				Female				Nonminority		
		Total	*Male*	*Female*		*Black*	*Asian*	*Native*	*Hisp.*	*Black*	*Asian*	*Native*	*Hisp.*	*Total*	*Male*	*Female*
10 Administrators	No.	86	51	35	28	5	7	7	1	9	2	0	2	58	36	22
	%		59.3	40.7	32.6	5.8	8.1	2.3	1.2	10.5	2.3	0.0	2.3	67.4	41.9	25.6
14 Managers	No.	45	17	28	10	2	0	0	1	3	4	0	0	35	14	21
	%		37.8	62.2	22.22	4.4	0.0	0.0	2.2	6.7	8.9	0.0	0.0	77.8	31.1	46.7
27 Academic Faculty	No.	208	101	107	58	9	7	2	3	11	20	1	5	150	80	70
	%		48.6	51.4	27.9	4.3	3.4	1.0	1.4	5.3	9.6	0.5	2.4	72.1	38.5	33.7

Source: Seattle Community College District VI. Workforce Profile #1, June 1, 1995, p. 1.

administrators. Moreover, de los Santos's study confirms the systemic relationship between the recruitment of minority faculty and the development of a corps of minority administrators. The presence of minority faculty within a system is the single most immediate source of recruitment for administrative ranks. At Maricopa, for example, minority faculty representation increased from 16.2 percent to 19.2 percent between 1987 and 1992, while the management group increased from 19.6 percent to 23.2 percent during the same period. These increases occurred because of the persistence of an entire educational system committed to diversity.

Because community college systems like Maricopa pursue diversity with vigor, they typically design and implement policies that help develop the next generation of community college deans and presidents. For example, departmental chairs often play crucial roles in the early identification, history, and support of minority faculty who ultimately might aspire to administrative positions. Yet even at urban community colleges, and overwhelmingly at their suburban counterparts, these chairs tend to be older white males whose commitment to educational and social change might be strong but who do not consider themselves to be part of any successful minority leadership initiative that begins in the departmental ranks. But when a powerful and unifying vision of institutional diversity permeates the entire college, or system, departmental chairs perceive that one of their functions is to help strengthen long-term administrative diversity by developing a pool of future minority talent. At Phoenix Community College, the president supports the employment of minority faculty members on special lines when they are recommended by her chairs. Similarly, the president of LaGuardia Community College has authorized his affirmative action officer to vigorously monitor departmental searches to guarantee a wide and diverse pool of applicants. Rather than reflecting a smug attachment to the status quo, executive leaders launching such initiatives permit institutions to grapple with the challenge of identifying and encouraging future minority leaders.

It is essential that institutions perceive administrative diversity not as an optional requirement during times of budgetary constraint but rather as a systemic commitment involving staff from as many employee groups as possible. Clearly those institutions that have support from the president and top leadership, and that also have a wide range of pluralism initiatives, multicultural courses and programs, and multicultural student groups are best positioned to hire minority administrators and to support staff diversity. When a network consisting of presidents and deans, directors of personnel and affirmative action, counselors and faculty, and staff and resource development personnel exists, leadership diversity can be achieved. And in this context, urban community colleges have the organization, culture, and people that permit a broad-based "buy-in" to leadership diversity.

Even though they are favorably positioned to achieve leadership diversity, urban community colleges have to confront the adversarial tradition underpinning faculty, staff, and administration relationships. This adversarial ethos often makes administrative life seem like terra incognita from a faculty or staff perspective or simply unappealing to faculty members. Nevertheless, it is crucial for urban community colleges to establish pathways to success for minority talent that might otherwise be overlooked or remain uninformed about the challenges and opportunities offered by administrative work. Not all community college personnel aspire to top leadership positions but are interested in career growth and development. Thomas in *Beyond Race and Change* (1991) asserts that institutions do not achieve success, modernity, or efficiency until they have implemented wide-ranging plans for access, retention, and promotion of employees—plans that have measurable outcomes in terms of a diverse workforce. Such plans, rooted in the culture of change, must permeate the entire institution. Quite often, training for sensitivity to diversity issues will be required for search committees. At other times, diversity initiatives must be institutionalized across all levels and types of employment through steering groups committed to improvements in employment, staff development, and personnel services. Unless what Thomas terms the "root system" of any community college is based on the culture of affirmative action and equal opportunity, any attempt to improve administrative diversity will yield only temporary benefits.

Conclusion

By the year 2000, one of every three U.S. citizens will be nonwhite (Hodgkinson, 1985). The turn of the century will reveal urban community colleges in the vanguard of social and educational change, strengthening minority leadership in response to altered demographic realities. The traditional and nontraditional executive skills of these leaders will be forged in an urban arena requiring extraordinary consensus-building talents, the willingness to share decision making, and the ability to articulate a compelling moral vision or mission embracing the women, immigrants, and minorities constituting the nucleus of the urban community college. Already, presidential search committees in urban areas have been educated about the special traits of leadership required for this new era. Moreover, graduate schools of education, which continue to produce the large majority of community college presidents, are starting to implement programs designed to create a new generation of nontraditional administrators. At New York University, for example, a new doctoral program designed to train more minority administrators for the nation's urban community colleges has recruited its first class. As "minority majorities" become a larger proportion of student enrollments at the nation's urban community colleges, the strengthened presence of both minority faculty *and* administrators will be the key to building consensus and community as we prepare for the new century.

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To increase administrative diversity, community colleges must identify and target gatekeepers, implement facilitative practices, and reward desired behaviors.

Affirmative Action as an Equal Opportunity Opportunity

Donald G. Phelps, Lynn Sullivan Taber

Like a successful physical fitness program or a diet, a comprehensive commitment to increasing diversity among community college faculty, staff, and administration must be maintained on an ongoing basis. Many community college personnel speak regularly about affirmative action but have no institutional plan, program, or goals to bring about movement toward ethnic diversity. Unfortunately, too often people equate *talk with action.* Plans should include recruitment strategies, collegewide orientation programs, retention objectives, and in-service activities that result in qualified minorities and women being hired. Also, institutional plans should assure a level playing field within all institutional employment categories.

When we signal our commitment to equal opportunity at the bottom of our stationary and in our catalogues, and even when our numbers indicate that we have a good proportion of minorities in our employment pools, we may be lulled into believing that we have made a good-faith effort, simply by our pronouncements. Talk and applications in the pool do not change the institutional staff and faculty profile. *Hiring* constitutes the first step in results. Retention and promotion constitute the other two essential steps. All three will be considered throughout the chapter from a variety of perspectives.

Today, virtually all community colleges are addressing diversity concerns on some level. However, in spite of this reported emphasis, when we review the proportion of minority faculty and staff in the nation's colleges, we see that the numbers are woefully inadequate.

While minority student enrollment has been on the increase—from 14.4 percent in 1970 to 26.18 percent in fall 1992 ("Fall 1992 Minority Student Enrollment in Two-Year Colleges," 1994)—the percentage of minority faculty

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and administrators hovers around 9 percent ("Public Two-Year Full-Time Professors in 1987," 1994) and 13.13 percent (1991–92). The ethnic and racial breakdown in Table 7.1 highlights this disparity.

The most up-to-date figures we have are for *all* higher education faculty (see column 3). We believe these figures may underestimate current community college percentages, and we do not know whether the trend looks the same in community colleges, but if it does, the largest increase in a minority group was posted among Asians, which more than doubled, followed by Hispanics and then blacks, each of which posted minimal gains between 1975–76 and 1991–92.

It appears that not much has changed since the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges (AACJC) Commission on the Future of Community Colleges concluded: "There is a clear and pressing need to increase diversity among community college leadership. Currently 10 percent of community college chief executive officers [CEOs] are women (121 of 1,222), as are 35 percent of all administrators. There are 37 black, 32 Hispanic, and 8 Asian chief executive officers in the nation's community colleges. Blacks and Hispanics are underrepresented among all administrative and faculty groups" (1988, p. 42).

A recent American Council on Education study (Ross, Green, and Henderson, 1993) found that Hispanics made up 2.6 percent of all college presidents and African Americans 5.5 percent. We also know that of approximately 1,250 community colleges, fewer than 75 have African American CEOs (6 percent) (Phelps, Smith, and Taber, 1995), which falls quite short of being comparable to student enrollment proportions. And even within that small representation, fewer than twenty-five of those individuals report directly to their own board of trustees, as reported in the Presidents' Roundtable survey in preparation for the Presidents' Roundtable 1994 directory.

Many community college boards hesitate to hire minorities or women as presidents because they fear a less-than-positive reception from the community and internal personnel when the college faculty, staff, and students are predominately white. Also, it is not uncommon in multicollege districts to have a "minority" college—a campus, usually one with a high ethnic minority population located in a large city, which houses the largest number of the district's minority employees—where the president is a member of the dominant group served by the campus. This campus may be the one that carries the ethnic diversity profile for the entire district, frequently creating a misleading statistic.

Why are the numbers so small? Why the lag in minority representation? These are especially pointed questions when we consider, for example, that the largest proportion of African American students participating in higher education enroll in community colleges, exceeding even their enrollment in historically black colleges and universities. The answers to these questions are very similar to answers from employers in any sector: weak or indifferent recruitment practices, lack of institutional procedures for recruiting minori-

Table 7.1. Minority Students, Faculty, and Staff

	Students[a] *(percentage)*	*Community College Faculty*[b] *(percentage)*	*All Faculty*[c] *(percentage)*	*Administrators*[d] *(percentage)*
Native American	1.11%	.90%	.30%	.36%
Asian	5.04	1.60	5.1	1.57
Black	10.51	3.00	4.7	8.68
Hispanic	9.52	3.50	2.2	2.52
White	72.04	91.00	87.7	86.85
Total minority	26.18	9.00	12.3	13.13

[a] Fall 1992 minority enrollment two-year colleges. *Chronicle of Higher Education Almanac*, 1994, p. 15.

[b] Public two-year full-time professors in 1987. *Chronicle of Higher Education Almanac*, 1994, p. 33.

[c] For all U.S. higher education full-time faculty, 1991–92. EEOC, Higher Education Staff (EEO6) Reports. Numbers supplied to authors in personal conversation with Ron Pelton, OERI, Washington, DC.

[d] 1991–92 all colleges and universities. Based on figures from 3,300 institutions. *Chronicle of Higher Education Almanac*, 1994, p. 33.

ties, lack of commitment to diversity, lack of administrative leadership, lack of training programs, and institutional racism, benign neglect, and indifference.

Further, a majority of community colleges are located in suburban and rural areas of the country where minorities are few in number; often hiring authorities in these colleges see no need for diversity, since "we don't have any." Also, these institutions are relatively small in comparison to their urban counterparts, creating proportionately fewer openings.

In spite of these observations, we contend that there is a much more insidious reason at the bottom of all of this: *the real problem is that a concerted effort has not yet been made to increase the numbers of minority community college faculty and staff in institutions large and small.* Even with affirmative action and equal opportunity policies and procedures in place, institutional goals are not being met, though there has been an interest in expanding diversity on campus, in some instances because that may avoid difficulties with state and federal compliance agencies. How, then, can we facilitate an increase in ethnic minorities and women on our campuses, especially in view of the national climate toward eliminating affirmative action, opposition to affirmative action, and recent negative U.S. Supreme Court decisions? One important aside—community colleges that have made progress in hiring affirmatively have learned that diversity enhances the quality of campus life.

Facilitating Activities

We believe that successfully increasing ethnic and gender diversity among community college faculty and staff through hiring, retaining, and promoting requires attention to three facilitating activities:

1. Identifying and targeting gatekeepers
2. Implementing facilitative processes
3. Rewarding desired behaviors

In the remainder of this chapter, each of these activities will be described and discussed. First, we turn to the important role of gatekeepers.

Identifying and Targeting Gatekeepers

Individuals placed in leadership roles in our efforts to diversify must be deeply committed risk takers, regardless of their color or gender. Intense efforts to increase diversity can create severe resentment if the entrenched faculty and staff conclude that jobs that have traditionally been their reserve are suddenly being thrown open to ethnic minorities and women. The gatekeepers—individuals who control or have significant influence on the processes of attracting, hiring, retaining, and promoting college employees—include

- Members of the college's board of trustees
- The chancellor or president
- Administrators
- Human resources department leadership
- EEO officer
- Current faculty and staff
- Community residents

Next, we consider issues confronted by each of these gatekeepers as they become involved in diversity efforts.

Members of the College's Board of Trustees. Members of the board are important because they determine college policy, heavily influencing college direction and accomplishments, and because they communicate the college's mission and demeanor to the larger community. Boards also evaluate the chancellor's or president's performance, holding him or her accountable for achieving agreed-upon objectives. Board members who are committed to diversity, vocal about their commitments, and publicly accountable are critical to the realization of increased diversity at the college. A diverse racial and ethnic makeup of the board is required to ensure that multiple community perspectives are represented. Another positive aspect of a diverse board is that, as it makes policy and hires personnel, members can function as role models to members of the college community. Suggested board activities include

- Routinely reviewing diversity issues and deciding on policies

- Asking for goals and timetables based upon state and district hiring standards and procedure (it is essential that goals and timetables be clearly described in publications that are most often read by all employees and through other popular means of institutional communications)
- Spelling out clear expectations for the president's performance (keeps the CEO from being identified as the "lone ranger" or the "affirmative action" president)
- Requiring regular progress reports
- Emphasizing that all employees are responsible for working together to achieve diversity goals

Opportunities can be made to influence board membership, whether members are appointed or elected. In the State of Washington, for example, board members are appointed by the governor. The law in the state spells out requirements for overall board membership, not specifically with regard to race or gender, but the board is required to reflect the demographics of each college's district and to be representative of certain professions (including unions). One strategy for improving the diversity of an appointed board is to identify the gatekeepers in state government—those who recommend board appointees to the governor—and either facilitate the development of a relationship with them or locate individuals who already enjoy one, for the purpose of making suggestions and passing along concerns. Often campus employees are involved in recommending board members through their own networks. Also, representatives of professional and faculty organizations sometimes become involved in board elections or the appointment process. Determining whom these individuals are and working with them individually to convey interests may be desirable.

It is also possible to influence board membership in elected-member districts. This is achieved by encouraging particular individuals to become candidates and suggesting support of selected candidates by community groups.

Whether dealing with elected or appointed boards, there are dangers if college administrators, faculty, or staff endorse specific candidates; this is not recommended. However, informing and encouraging can be most helpful and effective. Author Phelps' experience while chancellor of the Los Angeles Community College District provides an example. When Phelps assumed the chancellor's position, none of the seven elected board members were African American, although there had been African American members previously. Upon Phelps' arrival, one Hispanic, one Asian, and five whites (of which two were female) were serving as board members. However, when he left the district five and one-half years later, three whites, one Hispanic, one Asian, and two African Americans were serving, of which three were women.

It must be noted that it is false to assume that because an individual is of one particular ethnic group that he or she has an active commitment to or interest in improving the participation of that or other minority group. Unfortunately, sometimes middle-class blacks who have "made it" consciously or unconsciously act as gatekeepers to keep out other minorities. Sometimes whites are more active and committed. Race or ethnic heritage alone does not spell commitment—it is the individual's behavior that must be assessed and evaluated. Frequently, expectations for increasing diversity fall on minority board members and staff simply because they are minorities, with little or no regard for their unique understanding of or commitment to diversity. Seldom, if ever, would a white person be designated as the expert because he or she was white, with no regard to background or training. In general, involvement in board appointments or elections is a tricky business that CEOs should not undertake unless they are confident about the results.

College President. As the most visible leader of the community college, the president must be consistent, committed, vocal, and accountable in matters relating to diversity. The CEO, along with the board majority, must also have final hiring decision power and the right to reject all finalists sent forward by the screening committee.

What risks are involved for CEOs who act affirmatively in matters of race and gender? Presidents must be strong in this area, but reasonable, and must be highly regarded for other aspects of their performance, so as not to be viewed solely as an "affirmative action" president.

As stated above, one of the misconceptions nonminorities sometimes share is that all minorities are committed to and will actively recruit minority candidates for position openings. Simply being a member of a minority group does not make a person an expert on affirmative action or equal employment. For these reasons, a careful discussion needs to be held between presidential candidates and members of the board at the time a contract is being negotiated, so that a clear understanding is reached and institutional goals will be met, based on written board policies. Affirmative action can neither be left to chance nor delegated to marginal junior administrators who have failed in other assignments.

College Administrators. How often does the subject of increasing diversity come up in each college unit's regular staff meetings? Where is the issue in the order of importance on the agendas? Typically, budget concerns are among the top three important areas of discussion. The effort to diversify must be among the top three as well if real progress is to be made. Are college administrators good role models? Do they use their positions as an effective bully pulpit? The answers to these questions must be yes. Indifference, silence at staff meetings, and impatience with the subject should result in critical staff evaluations or perhaps even harsh discipline. This responsibility needs to be shared by all.

College Human Resources Leadership. The leadership of the college's human resources department is critical to a successful effort to diversify. As gatekeepers in all recruitment and hiring matters, the attitudes, sensitivity, and actions of these staff members have tremendous impact on the college's recruitment, employment, retention, and promotion efforts. The following unfortunate incident provides a striking example of a staff member's lack of sensitivity (and probably training). A college president commented to an African American colleague from another college that there might be a professional position available at his institution that would benefit from his many skills and experiences; the president suggested that the man stop by the college's human resources office to inquire. The man did so, but before he could voice his request, the probably well-meaning receptionist directed him down the hall to the office taking applications for maintenance and security personnel. The receptionist apparently made an assumption based on race, jumping to the conclusion that he must be interested in maintenance or security, rather than a professional position.

This type of situation must be avoided. The leaders of human resources departments must do everything in their power to facilitate the institution's efforts to successfully attract and hire minority candidates. The human resources staff should play an active role in the recruitment efforts, seeking out good sources for reaching qualified minority individuals and actively developing professional networks for this purpose. The days of personnel departments that simply process papers and administer employment exams and employee benefits are over.

EEO Officer. The college's Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) officer must report directly to the president and be taken seriously by the appointing authorities, the leadership of the human resources department, and other administrators and employees. Ad hoc and additional assignments must not be a part of the affirmative action officer's job description. The EEO officer must also oversee conditions in the workplace, helping to set a tone in the work environment that makes minority employment and retention a reality. Serious consideration must be given to the role of this individual in the recruiting and hiring process. What is the EEO officer's authority in relation to the human resources department leadership and the members of the screening committee? Should the EEO officer have the authority to call a halt to a search or an interviewing process? Under what conditions? Should he or she vote with other selection panel members or only provide technical assistance? These are important issues that must be carefully considered by college administration, and decisions about them should be routinely communicated to college employees.

Current Faculty and Staff. Frequently, recruiting is the easiest step of the process. All too often, institutions are not able to retain the minorities they have hired because no investment was made in preparing the current faculty and staff. If minority faculty and staff move into a workforce that is not sensitized to extending a welcoming hand, alienation can occur. New minority employees should be greeted and integrated in an intelligent and cordial way. Ways to accomplish this should be suggested during the college's ongoing staff development programs, both on campus and at professional conferences, but *not* left to chance. Well-intended diversity programs will fail if people at the grassroots level are not engaged or involved in its success. At "the people's college," all "front-line" personnel—receptionists, grounds keepers, police, and so on—are in constant contact with the public. They must have an understanding of—and buy into—the college's commitment to increasing diversity, or individuals far removed from the decision makers may, quite by accident, thwart progress.

Members of the Community. The attitudes and behaviors of community residents greatly affect decisions made by minorities who consider relocating to take a position at the local community college. Realtors, landlords, public school personnel, churches, and other community groups, as well as local commercial service providers, can make a difference positively or negatively in whether newcomers to the community are made to feel welcome. The college should take responsibility for increasing the awareness of these groups through the public information office, continuing education and community service programs, public forums, national speaker series, student newspapers, and other official publications. Making certain that such influential organizations as the Chamber of Commerce, the Downtown Association, the Business Roundtable, and service clubs are aware of the college's objectives is important. Key staff should become actively involved members of these organizations. A college speaker's bureau can enhance the institution's profile in this and many other ways.

Implementing Facilitative Processes

Gatekeepers committed to increasing diversity among their campus faculty and staff will be ineffective without processes in place to facilitate their work. Particularly important are

- Processes that result in clear, diversity-related policies
- Work that results in well thought-out procedures for implementing those policies
- An effective minority recruitment program
- Informed screening committees
- Sensitive new employee orientation programs
- Effective new employee integration plans
- Carefully planned retention incentives
- Promotion consideration
- Frequent and effective communication to the surrounding general public

Clear Policies. Clearly articulated policies must be put in place and communicated. Further, it is important that all standards and requirements in place for whites be maintained for members of minority groups; there must be no lowering of standards. We all want optimum potential in the individuals we hire, but we must also consider giving people new experiences. We must be willing to take risks when hiring any new personnel. Unfortunately, often in colleges, as well as in other public entities, a minority will not be appointed until the organization is bankrupt financially and programmatically. Then, if the new president, mayor, or commissioner is not successful within a finite period of time, he or she gets "run off." Our risk taking, in fairness to both the individual and the organization, should precede this dire circumstance. We need the courage to take calculated risks. When one minority employee fails, other minorities should still be given a chance. White employees fail regularly, and no thought is given to ceasing to hire whites.

Well Thought-Out Procedures. A clear policy is only as effective as the procedures that are established to carry it out. It is often more difficult to hammer out procedures than it is to write policy. Second only to effecting well-written procedures is the issue of how they are implemented. Confidence that the implementation of procedures is as intended may best be achieved by broad involvement in their writing, establishment, and ongoing review. Procedures should frequently be reexamined and institution-wide progress reports issued. Insisting that a nonworking procedure be continued can be every bit as damaging as having no policy or procedure.

Effective Minority Recruitment Program. The extent to which the college values its personnel as human beings is important in communicating a positive recruitment message. We work in a people business in terms of the students we serve as well as the way we deliver those services. Most community colleges now dedicate between 75 and 90 percent of their budgets to salaries and benefits. Our personnel, with their knowledge, training, and experience, are literally our most important asset. Recruitment should never be shortchanged. We are investing in our future. The college may have to pay for a service to assist in the recruitment process, but colleges spend millions of dollars on other services and products without apologies or excuses. Why would we not do the same to ensure the recruitment of quality personnel—the major expenditure of the college budget?

Networking is an important tool for successful recruitment. Unless you know where women or people of color may be reached and how they will be successfully attracted to your institution, you will fail in your recruitment efforts. Often our best employees are referred by others through our professional networking relationships. In order to access minority networks, special efforts are often necessary. Vehicles for accessing these networks include the following:

- Advertising in selected journals or newsletters, such as *Black Issues in Higher Education, Hispanic Business Journal, Journal of Blacks in Higher Education, National Council on Black American Affairs Newsletter, LaRed/The Net: Hispanic Journal of Education, Commentary, and Reviews, Affirmative Action Register for Effective Equal Opportunity Recruitment,* and *Urban Community College Report* can effectively reach selected target populations.
- Communicating with individuals in such professional minority organizations as the National Council on Black American Affairs, the Presidents' Roundtable (an organization of African American community college CEOs), the American Association of Community College's Hispanic Council, or the Texas Association for Chicanos in Higher Education, as well as representatives from other recognized professional organizations such as the American

Association of Community Colleges (AACC), the American Council on Education (ACE), and the American Council of Governing Boards (ACGB) may provide personal information about prospective candidates or how to locate them. Also, minority lawyers, physicians, engineers, architects, and public school teachers have national associations that provide sources for recruiting (see resource list at the end of this chapter).

- Sororities and fraternities that are popular with black professionals may be contacted through historically black colleges and universities, as these organizations have active chapters on virtually all their campuses, as well as graduate chapters in major urban centers. These groups may also be identified by reviewing local phone books or through conversation with members of local churches.
- Members of certain minority groups may be accessed through church groups. In virtually every community in the United States where there is a black population, there are black churches, which are extremely effective sources for recruiting black professionals. Also, about 60 percent of Hispanics are Catholic. In some communities, working with a particular Catholic diocese or with Catholic Services can be helpful.
- Staff of community organizations of interest to particular minority groups, such as the NAACP, the Urban League, the National Council on Black Affairs, or Native American or Asian American community-based groups may be helpful. The National Hispanic Chamber of Commerce could identify the location of local Hispanic chambers, and the traditional chamber of commerce could provide information regarding community-based groups of interest to individuals of a particular ethnicity or gender.
- Sometimes area universities have accessible alumni lists that recognize graduates who are members of particular minority groups.
- Networking assistance may be available from the community college's board members, faculty, and staff. Many well-trained, competent minorities are in all professions; we just have to find them. The point is to become knowledgeable about how and where members of target minority or gender groups communicate or congregate.

Our goal is much more than to make sure there is an adequate number of qualified minorities in the applicant pool, but including ethnic and gender minorities in the pool is the first step. How we encourage participation in an active minority employee recruitment program is as important as where we recruit. Recruitment must be part of an ongoing, positive process—not part of a threatening, negative environment. Academia does not respond well to force, and change requires thoughtful, positive reinforcement.

Informed Screening Committees. Colleges committed to increasing diversity among their faculty and staff will ensure that screening or selection committees are constituted of well-trained and well-chosen members. It is advisable to provide explicit direction to committee members and to monitor their work on an ongoing basis, receiving frequent progress reports, and to be readily available for consultation. Releasing a committee to work for a period of time, then perhaps to reject their recommendations, is not acceptable. Staying in communication with the group allows opportunities for problem solving along the way. The college needs to decide which person is most appropriate to serve as liaison during the screening committee's work—the EEO officer, a leader in the human resources area, the area manager, or someone else. While having representatives from the various disciplines on selection committees is important, it is also necessary to have minority representation on each committee.

Sensitive New Employee Orientation Programs. Most institutions have new and returning employee orientation programs each year. It is essential that the college's commitment to increasing diversity be on the agendas of these programs. A part of this activity should include progress reports and recommendations where significant progress has been made. Positive reinforcement is always more effective than negative comments. Commending both effort and results, and rewarding departments and divisions with additional budget or employee slots, will work as incentives for others.

Promotion Considerations. Once ethnic minorities and women have been appointed to entry level and midmanagement positions, gain tenure in the job, and demonstrate their capabilities, they will seek upward mobility. It is not unusual for minorities and women to be passed over for promotions even though they have performed effectively in their first college position. Proving successful in one position is by no means the automatic path to the next promotion. Frequently minorities will have to change institutions in order to be promoted. All of the same phobias and illogical reasoning reappear. The institution needs to seek out and acknowledge excellence and reward it as willingly as if the individual were of the majority.

Rewarding Desired Behaviors

The identification of gatekeepers and implementation of facilitative processes are required, but not sufficient, to ensure success. There must also be forces in the environment that model, encourage, and reward appropriate behaviors. At a minimum, these conditions must be in evidence: leadership, public accountability, managerial levers, clear expectations, institutional commitment evident in practice, ongoing training, and openness and encouragement.

Managerial Levers

As John Roueche, director of the University of Texas at Austin's Community College Leadership Program often observes, you must "inspect what you expect!" Progress on diversity enhancement or expansion should be a required part of the annual performance review of chancellors, campus presidents, and community college administrators. Monthly progress reports should be made to the board of trustees. Frequent discussions at cabinet meetings of diversity, multiculturalism, and affirmative action should be evident.

Managers who are not actively supporting the program should be counseled by the president. The goal is not to embarrass administrators in front of their peers or at cabinet meetings—conversations in private meetings can have much impact. It is interesting to note that often individuals who resist the hardest will embrace a different point of view most completely when they finally change their minds.

Some colleges have successfully used incentives. For example, a department becomes eligible to add personnel when a minority is hired where none are currently employed. Other institutions initiate various recognition activities, such as stories in the institution's or community's publications or selection as faculty member of the month. Moreover, release time, additional budget dollars, special equipment, attendance at local conferences, and professional travel are other strategies that enhance managerial commitment to diversity. Clear expectations for increasing college employee diversity must be articulated regularly to faculty and staff by the board, president, and college administration.

How to Get Started

If you are uncertain about how to proceed, either with instituting a diversity program or enhancing your current efforts, consider talking with people in community colleges that have had some successful experiences and consider enlisting the help of some professional organizations that specialize in minority recruitment consulting. Increasing diversity should be regarded as important, and commitment of resources to increase diversity should be seen as an investment. Of course, simply retaining a company to assist in this process would not take us "off the hook" if we were not successful—if we use a service outside the college, we cannot also place the responsibility for the success (or lack of success) of our efforts on them.

Conclusion

A successfully diverse workforce is critical to the well-being of the college and helps community college educators to be responsive to community needs. Community colleges will be successful in increasing and maintaining diversity on their campuses if they *focus upon gatekeepers, implement facilitative processes, and actively engage in rewarding desired behaviors.*

As the current debate rages over the fairness or unfairness of affirmative action, it is regrettable that those representing the political extremes have chosen to present political positions that neither reflect the reason why such a tool was originally conceived or remains necessary to this day. Dramatic progress in employment, education, and even business opportunities has taken place in the thirty-plus years since federal civil rights laws were enacted; however, the shades of discrimination that persist throughout our country are as numerous as those of the grains of sand along the oceans. It is essential to the healthy future of our society to continue to actively work at affirmative action, particularly in places of work and education. No honest, intelligent person wants unqualified minorities to be given hiring preferences. However, qualified women and people of color deserve equal treatment under the law. Affirmative action will require a continuing national investment well into the twenty-first century. Community colleges need to continue to be a significant part of that effort.

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Community colleges can succeed in expanding administrative opportunities for minorities by drawing on the resources of several university, state, and national professional development programs.

Professional Development Resources for Minority Administrators

David R. Pierce, James R. Mahoney, Arnold M. Kee

Introduction

Among the different components of U.S. higher education, community colleges have been the most successful in employing minority professionals at all levels of the institutions. The reasons for this success are various but are based on the fundamental community college commitment to access and opportunity for all segments of the community.

Over their recent history, community colleges have aggressively recruited and employed minorities for available positions. They have established an assortment of programs to ensure the success of these administrators, provided opportunities for advancement, and worked to ensure their being retained in the colleges.

Evidence of the success of community colleges in these endeavors is captured in data provided by the American Council on Education (ACE) in *The American College President* (Ross, Greene, and Henderson, 1993). In 1990, the latest year for which data are available, two-year colleges employed 43.1 percent of all minority presidents employed by U.S. colleges and universities. Community colleges number approximately 32 percent of all higher education institutions. In 1990 two-year colleges employed 39 percent of all African American presidents, 70 percent of all Asian American presidents, 48 percent of all Hispanic presidents, and 79 percent of all Native American presidents. In comparison to 1986 data, in three of the four minority categories reported by ACE, the percentages grew: from 30 percent to 39 percent for African American presidents in two-year colleges, from 60 to 70 percent for Asian American presidents, and from 69 to 79 percent for Native American presidents. The percentage of Hispanic presidents in two-year colleges during that span fell from 53 percent in 1986 to 48 percent of the total Hispanic presidents employed as presidents in higher education in 1990.

Admittedly, this is a positive "take" on the situation. The community-college record looks positive compared to other types of colleges and universities. A closer look at community college numbers alone displays a less positive image. ACE numbers for 1990 show that 97 minority presidents were employed in two-year colleges. That figure equates to 11 percent of all community college presidents.

The colleges' achievement is respectable, especially when it is compared with the records of other higher education institutions. But the numbers are still not adequate. Continued efforts are necessary to increase the pool of capable minority administrators in order to create the kind of institutional culture necessary to establish a learning and working environment that will encourage the best effort and best achievement of the whole college community.

The community college success in employing minority administrators can be attributed to many sources: college CEOs, college boards of trustees, community leaders, state officials, and others who are committed to the principles of diversity and increased minority leadership in the colleges and who work diligently to realize them. But specially designed education and professional development programs instituted by a variety of organizations have contributed importantly as well. Several of these programs are outlined below. They range in intensity and comprehensiveness from full doctoral curricula offered through universities to focused, short-term workshops. But they all have produced positive results. Many others not noted here have made important contributions to these efforts as well.

University Doctoral Program Model

There are about sixty graduate programs in the United States and Canada that emphasize community college education (Keim, 1994). They include doctoral programs in such institutions as the University of Michigan, University of California at Los Angeles, University of Toledo, University of Florida, and North Carolina State University. All of them offer excellent opportunities for aspiring administrators to hone their skills and develop the academic background for successful leadership in the community college setting.

Community College Leadership Program (CCLP), University of Texas, Austin. The University of Texas program is a model university-based community college leadership program. Since the CCLP was established in 1944, more than 500 students have graduated from the program. And since 1970, every CCLP class has included, by design, at least 50 percent minorities and women; since 1993, women and minorities have represented 60 percent of the students. More than 65 CCLP graduates are African Americans and Hispanics.

Moreover, since 1970 CCLP can boast that more than 300 CCLP graduates are sitting presidents, vice presidents, deans, or other administrators at community colleges in the United States and Canada. Recent studies of graduate programs for two-year college administrators have reported evidence that shows the CCLP program has had significant impact on institutional quality and that it is respected highly by professionals in the field.

A new CCLP "block" begins each fall semester. This unique instructional method requires a class of students to function collaboratively, drawing information and insight from the other "block" members. Each group develops a Block Master Plan—its goals and objectives for the semester, based on broad CCLP guidelines and the advice of the CCLP professors and mentors. While the method fosters a team-oriented learning experience, all students maintain responsibility for their own personal achievements.

While its curriculum is similar to other leadership programs around the country—for example, it includes management and organizational theory, organizational change models, finance practices, and educational philosophy—it differs from other programs with its emphasis on practice. Presentations by practicing college administrators, visits to community colleges, and internships provide students an array of encounters with real-life situations. Selected sitting community college presidents and vice presidents, as well as state and federal officials, are invited to address the classes on a wide range of issues, bringing the particulars of the business of leading colleges to the university classroom and strengthening the reality-based curriculum and instruction. In addition, students are required to submit feedback reports in which they reflect on issues and discoveries from their block experiences. Finally, an internship, a CCLP program requirement, is completed under the tutelage of an experienced community college president.

The involvement of minority CEOs in the program as faculty and mentors encourages students to develop understanding concerning the particular challenges of minority administrators. This feature enriches the networking component of the program.

Statewide, University-Based Minority Professional Development. The Leadership Institute of a New Century (LINC) is a leadership development program expressly aimed at minority faculty and administrators in Iowa community colleges. Its intention is to "harvest" top-quality minority persons already in the Iowa system for future leadership positions. The College of Education at Iowa State University (ISU), along with the Iowa Association of Community College Trustees, the Iowa Association of Community College Presidents, and other organizations sponsor the institute, which was organized in 1989. As of 1992, forty-eight participants have completed the program. All of them have been female, and 35 percent have advanced in their careers in their respective colleges since their training.

Nominated by their institutions, as many as twenty individuals can participate each year in the one-year program. LINC sponsors pay the costs of tuition, fees, travel, and lodging for all participants.

The heart of the program has two dimensions: academic studies and an internship with a college president or with an administrator in the Iowa Department of Education or the Iowa Association of Community College

Trustees. Its central focuses are to prepare participants to: (1) examine the governance and funding structures of community colleges at state and local levels; (2) observe the interplay of college CEOs with other college staff and community leaders; (3) study the intersection between theory and practice in a college setting; and (4) build management skills.

Academic classes are held once a month for a day and a half on the campus of ISU. Participants earn graduate credits for successfully completing each of the nearly twenty courses that are part of this program. Course topics include college budgeting and finance, presidential decision making, and community college philosophy. "Visioning" skills are also taught.

Structured writing assignments are a key part of the experience. One such activity requires participants to critique their interviews with community college trustees and with the president of the Iowa Board of Education. Another task is to develop a resumé and letter of application for a typical high-level administrative position in a community college. They must also prepare a formal statement capturing their personal community college philosophy.

The breadth of LINC's curricula makes it one of the most comprehensive training opportunities outside of a full doctoral program. Its state-level focus on developing already employed minority staff makes it unique.

University of Kentucky Leadership Program. The University of Kentucky Community College System Leadership Academy is a second state-level model. Administered by the community college system, it is one of the two systems that compose the University of Kentucky. Like LINC, the academy, begun in 1991, has a yearlong program designed to develop the leadership potential of minority and women staff and faculty who are currently employed in the community college system. The long-term expectations are that some of the participants will rise to top-level management positions in the colleges. Evaluations of the program rate it as excellent; several of the more than seventy-five academy graduates have moved into new leadership roles at their campuses, including academic deans, student affairs deans, and division chairs.

The academy's broad goals are threefold: (1) to develop community college faculty and staff into leaders for the statewide community college system; (2) to increase the number of women and minorities in leadership positions in the system; and (3) to develop a professional development model that can be replicated in other states. In the short term, the program aims at improving participant understanding of current community college leadership nationwide and at helping participants prepare a career plan that will eventually take them to executive positions.

Four distinct components make up the program: a summer institute, a yearlong internship, two retreats, and a career development experience. The issues covered in the 1994 weeklong summer institute include: organizational dimensions of leadership; team performance and leadership; characteristics of a successful leader; and state and national higher education issues. Following the summer institute, participants are placed in an internship with a college CEO, a dean, or a system administrator. The placement comes as a working assignment; that is, the intern is expected to fulfill the responsibilities of the position as though it were a permanent assignment. During the internship phase, the participants spend two weeks in a retreat to study educational issues endemic to Kentucky and its higher education system. The participants are also led in a review of their personal and professional goals. During the final stage of the academy, participants concentrate on sharpening their career plans and shaping the next steps toward higher level leadership positions within the system. A key component of the academy is the committed personal involvement of Kentucky community college presidents who serve as resources and mentors.

Higher Education Association Models

Virtually all presidential-based higher education associations offer professional development opportunities to upgrade the management and leadership capacities of institutional chief executive officers, making strong efforts to ensure that minority representation is evident. While the academic requirements and the intellectual base of these programs vary, the focus on issues, modeling, networking, and leadership effectiveness is constant.

American Association of Community Colleges. The American Association of Community Colleges (AACC) sponsors a variety of professional development activities, from short-term workshops to intensive seminars. The Presidents Academy sponsors an annual weeklong summer workshop for approximately forty community college presidents. Staff make efforts to ensure that both established and new CEOs are part of the participant mix and that minority administrators are included in strong numbers. An application process is used to create each summer's class.

The highly participative curriculum highlights presentations by national experts on issues of current importance (federal regulations, accreditation, finance, and so on) and on new management technologies (environmental scanning, computer installations, and the like). Small group discussions are organized based on the special interests of the participants. The program consistently includes themes that elevate concerns about diversity, especially as they relate to institutional management. The workshop is held in an isolated resort area to encourage group fusion and to stimulate networking among the participants.

For the span 1990 through 1994, AACC offered a similar workshop for college administrators below the presidential level. The Professional Administrators Development Institute (PADI) was designed to enrich the leadership capacities and resources for current community college administrators who might become CEOs. One of the stated objectives of the institute was to expand the participation of women and minorities in the career paths that eventually lead to college presidency. During this period, 248 individuals participated; 49 (or 19.8 percent) were minority or women. The institute was not continued in 1995.

The AACC annual convention offers similar opportunities on a grander scale. Many forums, workshops, showcases, and preconvention seminars focus on issues related to diversity concerns. Plenary sessions and concurrent presentations at the convention frequently include concentrations central to the experience of minority administrators in community colleges.

American Council on Education. The American Council on Education, in Washington, D.C., the umbrella organization for colleges and universities and national higher education associations, sponsors the ACE Fellows Program that offers opportunities for minority professional development. The yearlong program accommodates approximately thirty senior college faculty and midlevel administrators that have a minimum of five years of college-level experience from all types of institutions, including community colleges. The six broad dimensions of the program are: (1) internship with a college president and other senior administrators who serve as mentors to the fellows; (2) seminars and workshops on critical college management issues; (3) opportunities to meet with national leaders from government, research organizations, trade associations, foundations, and others to investigate topics of concern to higher education leaders; (4) campus visits; (5) preparation of a paper of publishable quality; and (6) applications of new insights at their sponsoring institutions.

The president-mentor relationship lasts the entire academic year, with fellows receiving assistance in planning their year, reviewing their progress throughout the term, and studying firsthand higher education administration, leadership, decision making, and governance. Full access to the decision-making process is provided to fellows at their host campuses.

The three mandatory weeklong seminars include a variety of instructional techniques, with stress on problem-solving workshops. The seven substantive content areas are: strategic planning; budgeting and financial management; academic planning and management; leadership and institutional change; diversity on campus; personal and interpersonal administrative dynamics; and external influences on higher education. Management theory and professional growth are highlighted in the seminars.

Twenty percent of Fellows Program graduates have gone on to become presidents of colleges and universities. An additional 2 percent have become CEOs of other associations or businesses.

Association of Community College Trustees. The Association of Community College Trustees (ACCT) offers a much more limited, but practical, opportunity for aspiring minority administrators to advance as community college leaders. At each of the annual AACC conventions, ACCT presents a workshop aimed at sharpening interview skills. Participants, who must register for the workshop, are asked to arrive at the session dressed as they would for a job interview. The full application procedure is reviewed during the program, with discussions on effective letter writing, résumé preparation, and interview techniques.

The highlight of the workshop, and the part on which most time is spent, is the mock interview. Participants break into pairs and interview each other under the eye of a video camera. The exchanges are scripted in part by ACCT staff and include questions about the applicant's vision for the hypothetical college in which the position exists. Role-playing applicants are asked to identify and describe those personal attributes that help create a match for them with the institution. After the mock sessions, all of the taped interviews are reviewed by the workshop participants. The session leaders offer critiques of each tape with emphasis on the quality of the applicant's presentation, communication skills, and the substance of responses to questions.

For the past five years, ACCT has offered this program to more than 300 aspiring community college administrators, about 40 to 50 percent of whom are minorities.

Minority Higher Education Organizations

Minority-centered higher education groups have traditionally offered professional development opportunities for prospective administrators. The general purposes of these opportunities include recruiting and encouraging talented, lower echelon administrators in the colleges; exposing and exploring the unique challenges confronting minority presidents; addressing the initial hurdles over which aspirants must leap to gain top-level positions; and examining time-tested strategies for successful minority leadership in the colleges and the college communities. The viewpoint through which all issues are approached is the minority leadership experience in higher education. This perspective distinguishes these programs from all others noted in this chapter.

Among these minority-centered groups are the National Council on Black American Affairs (NCBAA), the National Community College Hispanic Council, the Asian and Pacific Islanders Council, and the American Association of Women in Community Colleges. All of these groups are affiliated with the American Association of Community Colleges.

While the efforts of these groups are worthy of note here, space permits only a glimpse of one of them. NCBAA's Presidents' Roundtable organizes a four-day workshop each year called Mentoring Leaders for the Future. It is staffed by a six-person faculty, all of whom are African American presidents of community colleges. Among the issues presented are résumé writing, CEO-Board relations, mobilizing communities, and handling the press. Management and finance topics are also presented as well as discussions on current national themes that impact college administration. Opportunities for networking and group and individual conversations between the participants and the faculty are built into the program. More than twenty individuals have participated in the roundtable, which began in 1994.

Professional Development Models Provided by Other Organizations

Models of high-quality minority leadership programs have been structured by organizations other than those described above.

Expanding Leadership Diversity in Community Colleges (ELDCC) is conducted by the League for Innovation in the Community College, in cooperation with the University of Texas at Austin and with support from the W. K. Kellogg Foundation. The program's aim is to increase the flow of capable minority professionals into high-level faculty and senior leadership positions in the colleges. ELDCC is a one-year experience with six components: a mentoring relationship, professional development planning, internship, substantive seminars, public policy review, and conference participation.

When participants enter the program, they are paired with mentors, whose function at this early stage is to assist the participant to develop professional goals, identify developmental objectives to be met, and shape the ELDCC program to match the specific requirements set by each participant.

A sequence of three seminars is scheduled and offered throughout the year. The first centers on leadership concepts and techniques useful to enhance leadership skills. The second provides opportunities to gauge participant progress in developing leadership qualities. The third seminar, held at the end of the experience, assists participants in enriching their networking skills, skills that they are encouraged to apply when they attend the Leadership 2000 Conference, the capping event for the year. The final seminar also includes formal and informal evaluations of the year's work.

An additional component of ELDCC is the Community Issue Project. In this exercise, participants work collaboratively with other community organizations to address significant issues and prepare solutions.

ELDCC has been operating for six years, with 117 participants completing the program. All participants have been minorities. Seven graduates are now college presidents or campus CEOs; three are vice-chancellors; twelve are vice presidents; sixteen are deans; and six are directors. Another six are completing doctoral programs.

Formal evaluations have not been made on any of these efforts, but the general feeling of both those who have participated as "students" and those who have administered them is that they have been useful and successful. Some good has been done by each. Because of them, more minority professionals have been encouraged to consider careers as high-level administrators in community colleges. Some have sharpened their leadership and management skills. Many have joined a network of similar professionals who can help guide and assist them throughout their careers. And many have had the opportunity to study significant local and national issues impacting higher education, independently and in collegial working groups. While each program can claim success, the ultimate conclusion must be that not enough is being done at this time.

Community colleges have been more successful in these endeavors than have other kinds of postsecondary institutions, but our record is still not adequate. The flow of potential minority candidates for high-level positions in our colleges should be increased and maintained. And this will not happen unless energetic and consistent efforts are made at all levels. Below are some modest proposals for ensuring that the pipeline contains a reasonable flow of minority candidates.

The clear impression generated by these program descriptions is that they are disconnected, even haphazard. A program here, a program there. One a full-fledged effort, the other a much less ambitious one. There does not appear to be much correspondence among the various models. The result is that few benefit from intelligence about what others are doing. One means of ameliorating this situation is to use existing national resources to broadcast more aggressively the variety of program designs now being used.

Recommendation. That national groups, like the American Association of Community Colleges, officially support the principles that undergird minority professional development programs, study the experience and success of the types now offered, and broadcast its findings (with models) throughout its network. Other national higher education groups should more aggressively publicize the need for and value of establishing these programs. Staffs of these associations should also lend their support and expertise to the improvement of the programs. Further, more cooperation and coordination among these national groups should be developed.

Recommendation. That state community college systems should consider adopting or adapting management development programs like those in Iowa and Kentucky. Minority faculty and staff already employed in state college systems may be the richest resource available. They should be cultivated. A strong partnership among the leadership components of the system—state board of education, college CEOs, board(s) of trustees—should characterize these programs. As part of this effort, state officials should not neglect the potential resource that the public and private sectors represent for minority leadership in the colleges. Even if the use of such individuals is on a part-time basis on the faculties or in administration, their presence in the classroom or the board room can make important contributions to the purposes of minority leadership in the colleges.

Recommendation. That more leadership programs include training on challenges particularly faced by minority candidates. Cross-cultural communication, perceptions, and stereotypes affect managerial outcomes and can become factors in the selection process and as candidates take their positions as managers. While not all candidates will face these challenges, those who do would greatly benefit from training in these areas.

Recommendation. That individual colleges, while making their own considerable efforts in their own jurisdictions, should encourage and support the participation of capable minority staff and faculty in such professional development opportunities as those noted in this chapter. Local college CEOs should also volunteer as mentors to program participants and, when appropriate, as faculty for the sessions. In fact, local colleges may be the most significant impetus to increasing the flow of minority personnel in the leadership pipeline. By nurturing talented minority students and encouraging them to consider careers in higher education administration and by facilitating their movement up through the higher education system, local community colleges can significantly add to the numbers of candidates for high-level administrative positions in the colleges. Further, the nurturing and guidance can begin even before students reach the college level. Some local community colleges, for example, have begun this process as early as the elementary school level (Kee and Mahoney, 1995).

None of this work is as easy as this presentation may make it appear. History, tradition, attitudes, and the pull of many other concerns create formidable barriers to achievement in this arena. But community colleges have made impressive progress recently. We can do even better with more diligence and concentration.

Resources

Organizations
American Association of Community Colleges
One Dupont Circle, N.W., Suite 410
Washington, D.C. 20036
David Pierce, President
202/728–0200, ext. 238

American Council on Education
One Dupont Circle, N.W., Suite 800
Washington, D.C. 20036
Robert Atwell, President
202/939–9300

American Association of Women in Community Colleges
Amarillo College
P.O. Box 447
Amarillo, TX 79178
Diana Hester Cox, AAWCC President
806/371–5175

Association of Community College Trustees
1740 N Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
Ray Taylor, President
202/775–4667

Asian and Pacific Islanders Council
West Los Angeles College
4800 Freshman Drive
Culver City, CA 90230
Evelyn Wong, APIC President
310/287–4325

League for Innovation in the Community College
26522 La Alameda, Suite 370
Mission Viejo, CA 92691
Terry O'Banion, President
714/367–2884

National Community College Hispanic Council
Coast Community College District
1370 Adams Avenue
Costa Mesa, CA 92626
William Vega, District Chancellor and NCCHC President
714/432–5813

National Council on Black American Affairs
Wayne County Community College
One Lafayette Plaisance, #2115
Detroit, MI 48207
Richard Turner, III, NCBAA President
313/943–4017

Programs
Community College Leadership Program
University of Texas at Austin
Education Building 348
Austin, TX 78712–1293
John Roueche, Director
512/471–7545

Community College System Leadership Academy
University of Kentucky Community College System
17 Breckinridge Hall
Lexington, KY 40506
Arthur Stumpf, Academy Director
606/257–8607

Leadership Institute of a New Century
Iowa State University
College of Education
Ames, Iowa 50011
Norene Daly, Director
515/294–4111

Printed Sources
Black Issues in Higher Education. Cox, Matthews & Associates, 10520 Warwick Ave., Suite B-8, Fairfax, Virginia 22030–3136.
Educational Administrative Abstracts. Corwin Press, A Sage Publication Company, 2455 Teller Road, Thousand Oaks, California 91320.

The Hispanic Outlook in Higher Education. The Hispanic Outlook in Higher Education Publishing Company, 17 Arcadian Ave., Paramus, New Jersey 07652

The Journal of Staff, Program & Organization Development. New Forums Press, P.O. Box 876, Stillwater, Oklahoma 74076.

Multicultural Strategies for Community Colleges. American Association of Community Colleges, One Dupont Circle, Suite 410, Washington, D.C. 20036

TQM in Higher Education. Magna Publications, 2718 Dryden Drive, Madison, Wisconsin 53704–3086.

Tribal College. American Indian Higher Education Consortium, P.O. Box 720, Mancos, Colorado 81328.

Winds of Change. AISES Publishing, 1630 30th Street, Suite 301, Boulder, Colorado 80301.

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Kee, A. M., and Mahoney, J. R. (eds.) *Multicultural Strategies for Community Colleges.* Washington, D.C.: American Association of Community Colleges, 1995. (ED 380 175)

Ross, M., Greene, M. F., Henderson, C. *The American College President: A 1993 Edition.* Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1993.

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U.S. community colleges in the twenty-first century will be led increasingly by administrations committed to exemplary programs designed to boost minority graduation and administrative representation.

The Unfinished Agenda

Reginald Wilson

Often, two things are said about the future of the workforce in the United States: (1) by the year 2000, 85 percent of the new entrants into the workforce will be women and minorities; and (2) the workforce of the future will face a majority of jobs that require more than a high school diploma but less than a baccalaureate degree. If those things are true, then the focus of education must be increasingly on minorities, who are presently greatly undereducated. And, it would seem, the community college will increase in importance among education institutions.

However, a third truism must be added to the above two. That is, if the minority educational administrator is to have a leading role in that focus of importance, he or she must assume a prominent place in the development of this increasingly important institution—the community college. To see where that leadership is, we take a snapshot of the status of minorities in community colleges at the present time and make some speculations about what the future might hold, given the state of the economy, the racial climate, and the future of higher education as best as we can project it.

The Present Condition

The current projection is that, at the present rate of growth, minorities will be one-third of the U.S. population by the year 2000, and over 50 percent by 2050. This growth has enormous implications for the characteristics of the future workforce in terms of education and training. Although minorities have made great strides, they are still more likely to be among the poorest of the U.S. population and still lag substantially behind whites in high school graduation rates (see Table 9.1).

Table 9.1. High School Graduation Rate (Percentages)

	1934	*1972*	*1992*	*Gain*
White	55	81.7	83.3	+1.6
Black	18	66.7	74.6	+7.9
Hispanic		51.9	57.3	+5.4

Source: Table 99, Digest of Education Statistics, National Center of Education Statistics, 1995.

Therefore, for minority students, the eligibility for a selective college will continue to be diminished in the foreseeable future. As tuition and admission standards rise and affirmative action increasingly is eroded, the likelihood is that minority predominance in the open door, relatively low tuition community college will continue for some time to come (Table 9.2).

Minority enrollment in higher education increased modestly but steadily from 1981 to 1993, as shown in Table 9.2; however, enrollment increased slightly more in two-year than in four-year institutions. The downturn in economic circumstances during the past decade may have resulted in a "bumping down" of minority students into lower cost community colleges (Wilson, 1995). The bumping-down phenomenon appears to be confirmed by the loss of minority students at the more selective, higher cost institutions (Table 9.3).

This challenge to administrators, and especially minority administrators, who are increasingly the CEOs of campuses with large numbers of minority students, either Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) or community colleges with a "majority-minority" population, is to raise the achievement aspirations of minority students. The transfer rate from a community college to a senior college is appallingly low. The nation needs minority baccalaureate graduates as well as technically trained community college graduates (Table 9.4). More baccalaureate minority graduates also set the stage for more minority administrators.

Table 9.2. Minority Student Enrollment (Percentages)

	1981	*1993*
Four-year institutions	14 %	20 %
Two-year institutions	20	27
Average Percentage	17	23

Source: American Council on Education, 1995.

Table 9.3. Percentage of Black Undergraduate Enrollment at Selected Research Universities

Institution	*1980*	*1992*	*Percentage Change*
Brown University	6.2	5.8	-6.5
University of Chicago	4.1	3.7	-9.8
Stanford University	6.1	5.2	-14.8
Columbia University	6.2	5.0	-19.4
Cornell University	5.0	4.0	-20.0
Northwestern University	8.2	6.1	-25.6
Princeton University	7.5	5.3	-29.3
Dartmouth College	7.7	5.4	-29.9
Massachusetts Institute of Technology	5.4	3.5	-35.2

Source: Journal of Blacks in Higher Education, 1994.

Recent Progress

Minority administrators have made some progress recently as exemplified by their growth rate since 1981. As can be seen in Table 9.5, growth has been primarily in the early years of the 1980s and has slowed considerably in the recent past (Carter and Wilson, 1994). We must remember that the number for African Americans includes the number of administrators in the HBCUs and, thus, can be lowered by about a third to compare more accurately with those of other minority groups. Moreover, we must recognize that many minorities came into higher education during the initial surge as staff administrators to manage minority programs, rather than line administrators who are more likely to advance up the ladder. This means that minorities must seek

Table 9.4. Community College Enrollment and Transfer Rate

Minority	*Enrollment*	*Transfer to Four-Year Colleges*
Black	47	15
Hispanic	56	15
White	37	25
Asian	40	41
Native American	44	10

Source: American Council on Education, 1995.

Table 9.5. Minority Administrators in Higher Education

Minority	*1981*	*1989*	*1991*
African American	7.0	8.6	8.7
Hispanic	1.7	2.3	2.5
Asian American	1.0	1.4	1.6
Native American	0.4	0.4	0.4

Source: Carter and Wilson, 1994.

line positions as deans and vice presidents to be more ready to move into president positions.

Essentially three major tasks face minority administrators of community colleges if they are to play the key leadership roles spelled out for them in the future. They are (1) increasing the graduation rates from community colleges; (2) increasing the transfer rate to senior colleges for those students capable of going further; and (3) establishing exemplary programs to assure minority graduation and transfer.

As Robert Atwell, president of the American Council on Education, has said, "For minority students who aspire to continue beyond high school, community . . . colleges are an important gateway to higher education and a better quality of life" (Atwell, 1991, p. 2). This with the caveat that they *graduate* from the community college. Hispanic students have higher graduation rates, but nearly 50 percent drop out before completing the first year of college (Rendon, 1993). Nevertheless, some studies have shown graduation rates to be as low as 15 percent for some minority groups, which indicates that the community college must cease being a holding pen for minority students and become instead a successful passage of graduation and transfer for these students.

To make community college respectful in the eyes of peer institutions, students must not only transfer in large numbers from these institutions but also must succeed at senior institutions that receive them. Rendon has said: "Much of community college leadership has elected to respond to the controversy surrounding transfer from a color-blind point of view. Quite simply, the individuals who stand to lose the most from tolerating low transfer rates are students of color" (1993, p. 4). Because large numbers of minority students are in community colleges, the transfer function is key to increasing the number of baccalaureate degrees. Let me stress that I am not denigrating the function of the community college. Quite the contrary, I am stressing that the community college must emphasize both graduation and transfer and not downplay both by talking about the multiple roles of the community college.

It is particularly imperative that minority administrators establish exemplary academic programs at institutions that they guide, especially if they have a large enrollment of students of color. These institutions can be places of both excellence and diversity. Such schools do exist, but unfortunately, they are too few. I shall illustrate only one to make the point.

When Mount St. Mary's was established in Los Angeles in 1926, it was a Catholic liberal arts campus catering to predominantly middle-class white women. It established a two-year campus in downtown Los Angeles in 1960. By 1986 the college enrolled 56 percent Hispanic, 18 percent black, and 9 percent Asian students. Ninety-eight percent were first-generation college students, and over half lived below the poverty level.

Mount St. Mary's did not blame the initial high failure rates on student circumstances but continued to have high expectations of its students. The college instituted a rigorous summer workshop that entering students were encouraged to attend. The college provided a warm supportive environment and gave much individual attention. There was academic intervention when difficulties appeared, and students took required remedial courses when test results showed weaknesses in certain areas. A semester-long orientation course paired students with peers and a faculty member to discuss any academic difficulties. There are other important aspects to the student tutoring and support program.

The result of this effort is a 70 percent completion rate of the associate's program. There is a 69 percent transfer rate to the baccalaureate program with 50 percent of transfers receiving their bachelor's degree. The late Sr. Magdelene Coughlin, president of the college, used to boast that she successfully educated more minority students than any other college, and no one has challenged her (Green, 1989).

Faculties and Administrations

Most minority administrators begin, of course, as faculty members, and so it is important to increase the number of minority faculty. As shown in Table 9.6, minority faculty members have increased slowly during the decade of the 1980s. The policies of the Reagan-Bush administration that were markedly hostile to affirmative action can certainly be partly responsible for the slowdown. The vice president of the American Council of Education (ACE) points

Table 9.6. Full-Time Minority Faculty

Minority	*1981*	*1989*	*1991*
African American	4.2	4.5	4.7
Hispanic	1.6	2.0	2.2
Asian American	3.2	4.7	3.1
Native American	0.3	0.3	0.3

Source: American Council on Education Annual Report, 1994 out that although approximately one-half of American colleges and universities reported net gains in the number of full-time faculty during the year, only 25 percent of these institutions reported a net gain among racial/ethnic minority faculty (Ponterott, Lewis, and Bullington, 1990).

There is evidence of racism among college faculty and some insistence on higher standards for minorities than for majority students for comparable work (Sandler, 1986). Generally, although life was hard and isolated for minority faculty, some have persisted. Institutions must work harder to recruit more minority faculty! The strength of numbers can provide a critical mass for support and upward mobility. Increasing the numbers can additionally provide role models for minority students and candidates for leadership positions.

Future Prospects

If the community college is to take its rightful place as the educational institution of the twenty-first century and if a minority administration is to increasingly lead this institution, then the minority administrator must, indeed, be prepared to revolutionize the institution and to perform a paradigm shift in the thinking about the structure, function, and purpose of the institution. As Fisher stated, "The president is expected to lead the institution to a better condition" (1991, p. 2).

The minority administration must begin to view the community college as an institution of excellence and not as a holding pen for those considered unqualified for college or merely taking courses here and there with no intention of graduating. Studies show that 50 percent of students who enter a community college expect to attain a degree, and we must hold the institution to the fulfillment of those expectations (Angel and Barrera, 1991). Community colleges can do this by establishing exemplary programs that can boost minority graduation and transfer and that also can serve as models for the rest of the nation in new thinking about the potential of minority students.

With this new thinking and with demonstrated excellence, the minority administrator can provide compelling evidence of the leadership potential of this new breed of administrator that is in short supply now but will be increasingly vital to higher education in the twenty-first century.

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Angel, D., and Barrera, A. (eds.). *Rekindling Minority Enrollment.* New Directions for Community Colleges, no. 74. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1991.

Atwell, R. "Introduction." In D. Angel and A. Barrera (eds.), *Rekindling Minority Enrollment.* New Directions for Community Colleges, no. 74. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1991.

Carter, D., and Wilson, R. *Annual Status Report: Minorities in Higher Education.* Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1994.

Fisher, J. L. *The Board and the President.* New York: American Council on Education/Macmillan Series on Higher Education, 1991.

Green, M. (ed.). *Minorities on Campus: A Handbook for Enhancing Diversity.* Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1989.

Ponterott, J., Lewis, D., and Bullington, R. (eds.). *Affirmative Action on Campus.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1990.

Rendon, L. "Eyes on the Prize: Students of Color and the Bachelor's Degree." *Community College Review,* 1993, *2* (2), 3–13.

Sandler, B. R. *The Campus Climate Revisited: Chilly for Women Faculty, Administrators, and Graduate Students.* Washington, D.C.: Association of American Colleges, 1986. (ED 298 837)

Wilson, R. "Affirmative Action: Yesterday, Today, and Beyond." Unpublished paper, 1995.

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Sources and Information: Expanding Opportunities for Minority Administrators

Jonathan Holub, Elizabeth Foote

Community colleges face unique challenges when recruiting and maintaining minority administrators. Although progress has been gradual, strides are being made in opening opportunities and advancement. Obviously, the most compelling impressions on the state of opportunities for minority administrators are being discussed by those individuals and institutions that have experienced the challenges for themselves. Also, many schools and organizations are investigating effective approaches for expanding the leadership roles of minority administrators.

The following publications reflect the current ERIC literature on expanding and maintaining opportunities for minority administrators. Most ERIC documents (publications with ED numbers) can be viewed on microfiche at over nine hundred libraries worldwide. In addition, most may be ordered on microfiche or on paper from the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS) by calling (800) 443-ERIC. Journal articles are not available from EDRS, but they can be acquired through regular library channels or purchased from the University Microfilm International Articles Clearinghouse at (800) 521–0600, extension 533.

General Articles

These articles provide an overview of issues regarding the expansion of opportunities for minority administrators.

NEW DIRECTIONS FOR COMMUNITY COLLEGES, no. 94, Summer 1996 © Jossey-Bass Publishers

Gilliland, J. R. "Beyond Affirmative Action: Leadership Diversity That Works." *Initiatives*, 1990, *53* (1), 21–24.

Contends that community colleges need to make full use of leadership talents and capabilities of women and persons of color. Identifies the key challenge facing community colleges as developing leadership teams that truly represent the diversity of their students and community constituents.

Gilliland, J. R. "Leadership, Diversity, and Columbus: A Manifesto for Social Change." *Community, Technical, and Junior College Journal*, 1992, *62* (5), 18–22.

Discusses diversity issues related to sensitivity to differences, opportunities afforded by the Columbus quincentenary for discourse on diversity and democracy, and demographic trends. Provides a rationale for promoting leadership diversity. Assesses the current status of women and minorities in public and private leadership. Discusses steps in creating leadership diversity.

Sanchez, A. A. "Diversity in Leadership, Diversity in the Classroom." *Community College Journal*, 1992–93, *63* (3), 31–33.

Perceives the key challenge facing community colleges in the 1990s to be the development of leadership that represents the diversity of the colleges' students and local constituents. Considers the components of a plan for changing institutional values, climate, and learning environment.

Gilliland, J. R. "Diversifying Leadership in Community Colleges." *New Directions for Community Colleges*, 1991, *19* (2), 93–101.

Discusses practical and theoretical reasons to support workforce diversity; ways that leadership diversity strengthens an organization; progress toward leadership diversification in higher education and the private sector; stages of the leadership diversity cycle; and leadership diversification efforts at Metropolitan Community College in Nebraska.

Barrera, A., and Angel, D. "Minority Participation in Community Colleges: A Status Report." In D. Angel and A. Barrera (eds.), *Rekindling Minority Enrollment*. New Directions for Community Colleges, no. 74. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1991.

Draws from a literature review and surveys of state commissioners of higher education and community college presidents to profile minority student enrollments at community colleges by ethnicity and college size. Assesses the prevalence of programs to increase minority student participation. Notes changes in numbers of minority faculty and administrators.

Gillett-Karam, R., and others. "Underrepresentation and the Question of Diversity." *Community, Technical, and Junior College Journal*, 1990–91, *61* (3), 22–25.

Considers the underrepresentation of women and minorities in community colleges, discussing barriers that keep these groups out of administrative positions. Underscores the importance of leadership and vision in removing these barriers. Identifies inclusionary practices of community colleges, graduate programs, and professional organizations that can increase leadership diversity.

"Close Up: CASE's Special Cases." *Currents*, 1990, *16* (8), 20–21.

Two-year college advancement professionals are younger and the most optimistic. This survey of the Council for Advancement and Support of Education members found that minority members in higher education tend to be better educated, less likely to be fund-raisers, and paid less.

Creating Opportunities

In order to create more representative administrations, institutions are investigating methods for more effective minority recruitment.

Ebbers, L. H., and others. "LINCing: Creating a Regional Consortium for Leadership Development." Paper presented at Leadership 2000, the annual international conference for the League for Innovation in the Community College and Community College Leadership Program, Chicago, July 19–20, 1992. 23 pp. (ED 348 089)

The Leadership Institute for a New Century (LINC) began in 1989 as a consortium formed by Iowa State University, the Iowa Association of Community College Trustees, and the Iowa Association of Community College Presidents. The mission of LINC was to increase the diversity of upper-level administrators at community colleges through developing and enhancing the leadership styles of women and people of color. This report provides an overview of the LINC program.

Opp, R. D. "Minority versus White Administrators' Perceptions of the Recruitment and Retention of Minority Faculty in Two-Year Colleges." *Journal of Applied Research in the Community College*, 1994, *1* (2), 85–99.

Presents a study comparing the perceptions of minority and white academic affairs vice presidents regarding barriers and approaches to minority faculty recruitment and retention. Indicates that, although white administrators emphasized structural institutional barriers, minority administrators emphasized attitudinal barriers. Suggests that hiring minorities for highly visible administrative positions is crucial in promoting faculty equity.

Phelps, D. G. "Access, Equity, and Opportunity." *Community, Technical, and Junior College Journal*, 1990–91, *61* (3), 34–37.

Describes the Los Angeles Community College District's approach to increasing the diversity of the district's faculty and administration, while simultaneously turning around a declining enrollment. The district's approach included a retirement incentive program and a concerted marketing and recruitment effort directed toward minorities. Reviews results.

Burgos-Sasscer, R. "The Changing Face of Leadership: The Role of Hispanics." Paper presented at Leadership 2000, the annual international conference on Leadership Development of the League for Innovation in the Community College, San Francisco, July 8–11, 1990. 13 pp. (ED 324 077)

While the percentage of women and minorities in leadership positions is growing, the numbers are still not representative of the population at large. The forty-nine community colleges in Illinois enroll 62 percent of the state's minority college students. Five of these colleges (10 percent) have minority presidents, all of whom are African American. There are no Hispanic community college presidents in Illinois, although in Chicago 20 percent of the total population and 27 percent of the community college student population are Hispanic. There are only four Hispanic deans, none of whom are deans of instruction. This is due in part to the low number of qualified candidates. However, very few of those who qualify for top-level positions are ever offered such positions. Two colleges in Illinois serve as examples of institutions whose leaders were determined to fill top administrative positions with individuals who would best meet the future needs of their diverse student populations. Overcoming the prejudices and biases that may serve as barriers to hiring qualified minorities requires dominant groups to understand that cultural and gender differences indeed produce new and different leadership styles, but that these styles are valid and much needed.

Torres, B., and Kapes, J. T. "Work Values and Job Satisfaction of Potential Minority Leaders in Community College Settings." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Southwest Educational Research Association, Austin, Jan. 26, 1990. 24 pp. (ED 319 469)

A study was conducted to investigate the work values and degree of job satisfaction of potential minority leaders in community colleges and technical institutes in Texas. The study sample included seventy-three black and Hispanic educators who were considered potential leaders in community colleges in Texas.

Maintaining Opportunities

Although strides are being made in minority recruitment and retention, an investigation into the needs and issues facing these administrators is necessary if opportunities are to be maintained.

Bowen, R. C. "Vision and the Black Community College President." Long Island City, NY: LaGuardia Community College, 1993. 22 pp. (ED 360 227)

In this speech, the black president of an urban community college discusses how his experiences as an African American has affected his performance as the leader of his school. He suggests that if schools are to succeed in educating minority youngsters who lack both home and community support, educators must fill that void through active involvement and sensitivity in revitalizing the curriculum. A nurturing climate must be established. Presidential leadership is pivotal to the life of any institution of higher learning. Because a person brings to a leadership role the sum total of his unique experiences, being black is inextricably linked to the way an individual operates as president. The critical points and importance of the black experience as race relations changed throughout the twentieth century are discussed. The struggle of blacks to gain empowerment played a role in the development of this college administrator as a man and a president.

Harris, Z. "Creating a Climate of Institutional Inclusiveness." *Community, Technical, and Junior College Journal*, 1992, 63 (1), 38–40.

Advocates greater inclusion of women and ethnic minorities in all areas of the community college. Offers six steps to improving the campus's climate for change; for example, support visible on-campus agents of change; include a gender-balanced, multicultural curriculum within the strategic plan; and prepare current faculty and administrators for the demographic changes ahead.

Johnson, M., and others. "A Survey of Factors Affecting Workplace Performance and Career Advancement of Black Women Administrators in Middle- and Upper-Level Management Positions in Community Colleges. Summary of Findings." Paper presented at Leadership 2000, the annual international conference for the League for Innovation in the Community College and Community College Leadership Program, Chicago, July 8, 1991. 11 pp. (ED 337 209)

In 1991 a survey was conducted of 150 black female administrators at the department chair level and above at sixty-five community colleges in nineteen states. The questionnaire solicited information on respondent characteristics, such as age, degrees, and salary, and their perceptions of the degree to which each of twenty variables positively or negatively affected their workplace performance and career advancement. Respondents were also asked to list do's and don'ts for black women administrators. Surveys were returned by fifty respondents, for a response rate of 33 percent. Variables that generated highly positive responses for both workplace performance and career advancement were self-worth, amount of education, verbal skills, writing skills, and leadership ability. Selected comments made by respondents regarding the variables ethnicity, apparel, marital status, self-worth, leadership ability, supervisor support/mentor relationships, and general issues are attached, along with a representative sample of the more than five hundred responses to the final administrator do's and don'ts question.

◆

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